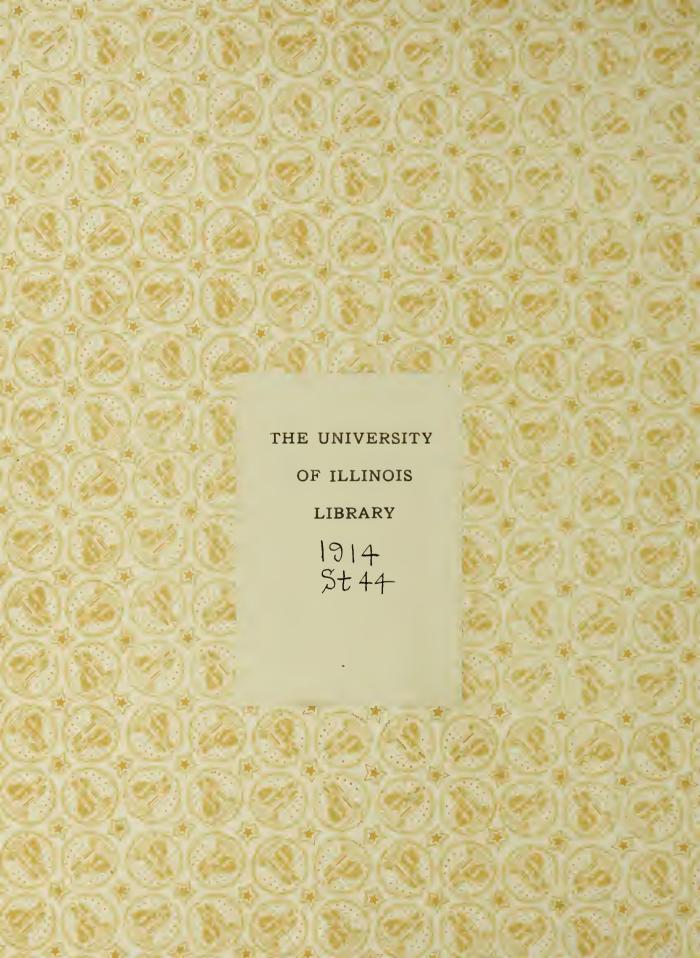
STEVENS

Immigration and its Problems

Business Administration

A. B.

1914



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IMMIGRATION AND ITS PROBLEMS

 $\mathbf{B}\mathbf{Y}$

VERNON THOMPSON STEVENS

THESIS

FOR THE

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS

IN

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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Instructor in Charge

In HEAD OF DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

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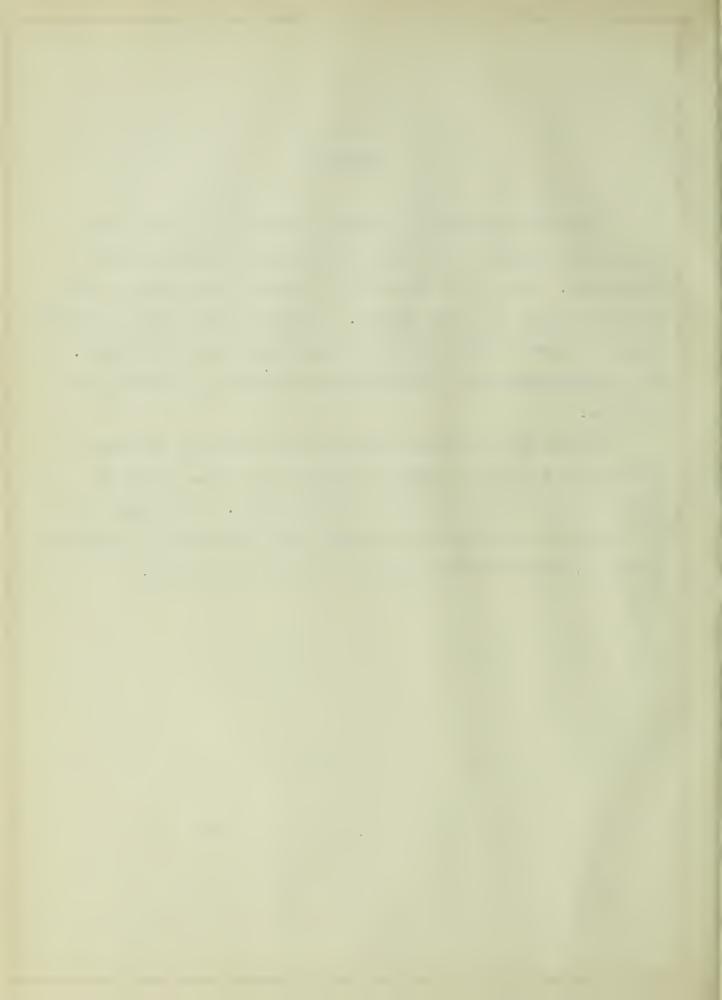
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PREFACE

In the discussion of a question so wide in scope as the immigration problem, only the most important problems can be considered. The writer has tried to present both sides of this mooted question in a fair manner. In every point under discussion opinions diametrically opposed to one another have been found. This in many cases has necessitated the drawing of personal conclusions.

Present day political aspects of the question have been mentioned but briefly, because they are based upon political policy, rather than upon sound economic bases. The reports of the Immigration Commission have been used extensively as furnishing fair and unprejudiced statistics upon this problem.



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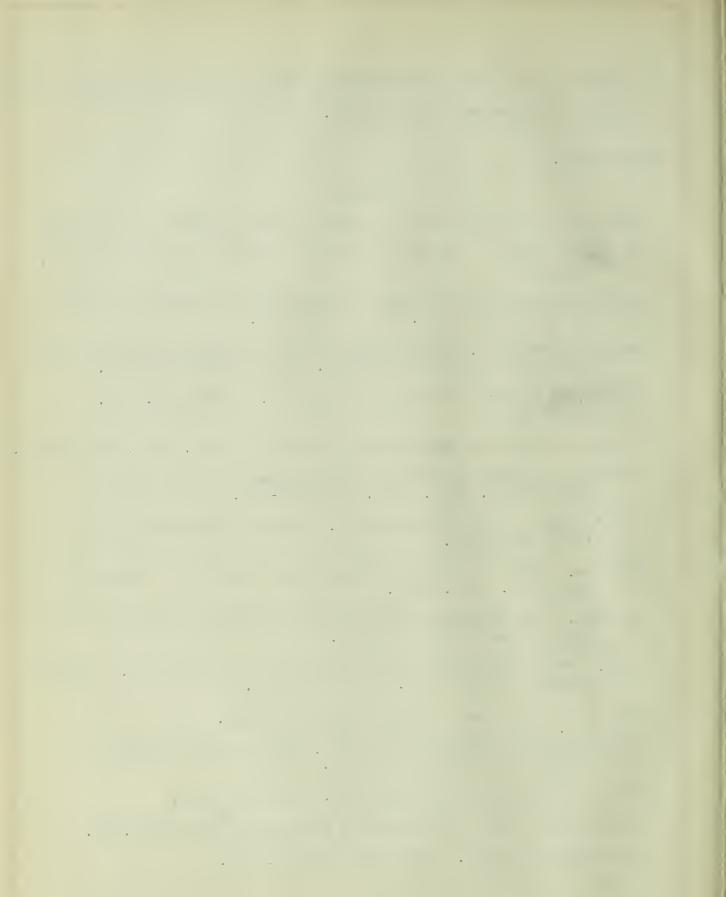
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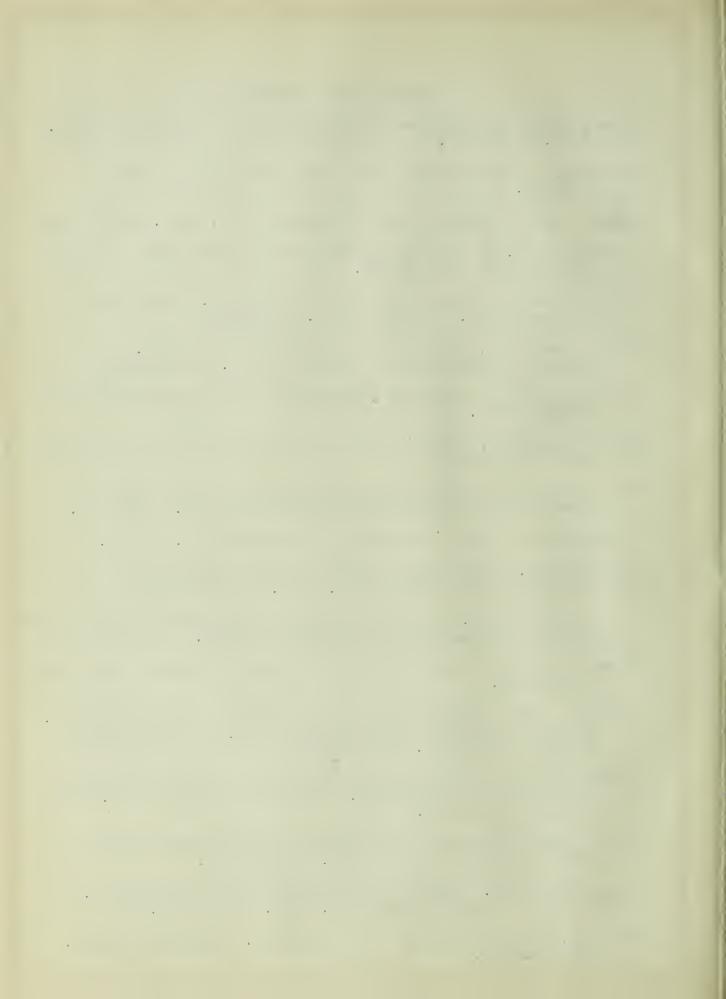
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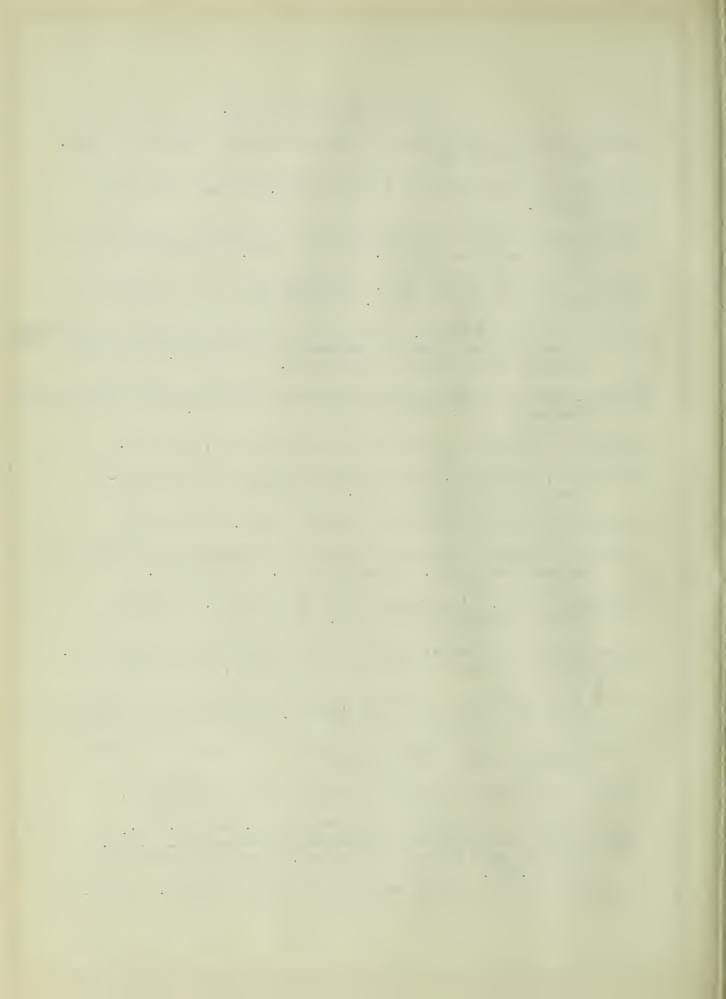
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IMMIGRATION AND ITS PROBLEMS

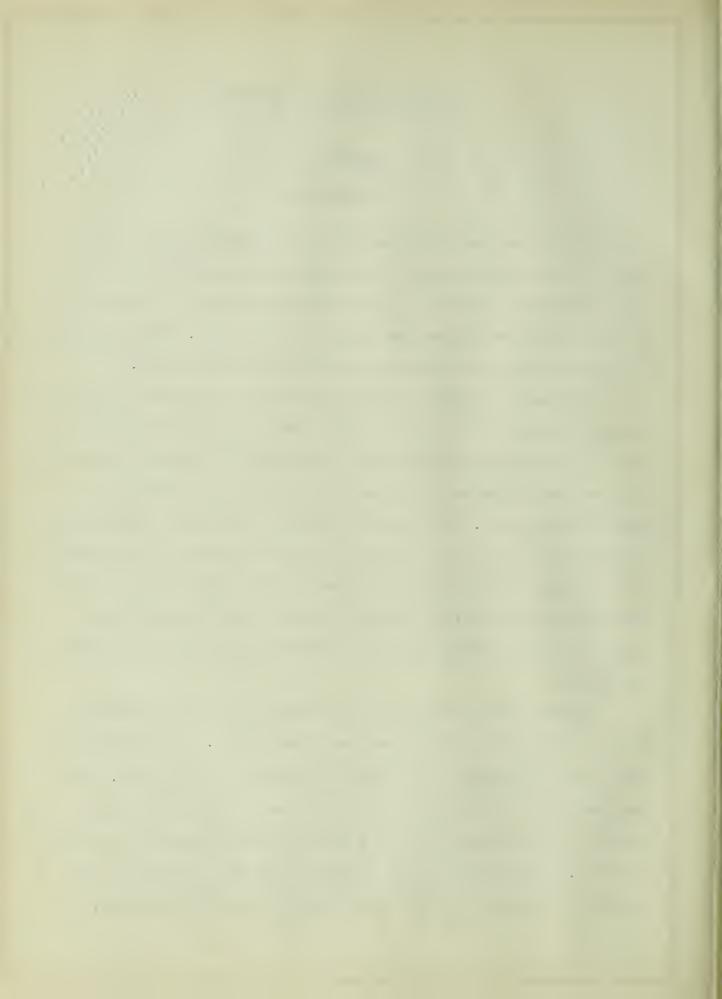
CHAPTER I

Introduction

The United States of America is the melting pot of the world. Our forefathers set up the crucible in the land of the free and declared that "all men were created equal." Into this crucible has been poured the people of all races. The product has been a homogeneous people not a heterogeneous mass.

Our early problem of what to do with the various classes of people was political; how to unite into one self-governing nation a scattered population with a diversity of natural resources, climates, and interests that mark a new country. The immigrant was welcomed. The question today is must the immigrant be viewed in the setting of the day? Have we come to the parting of the ways? The sentimental plea of "let them come, the Star Spangled Banner is broad enough to cover and the eagle that sits over it is strong enough to defend them all" is antiquated and absurd.

Laying aside sentiment and prejudice, the fact remains that we have these strange people in our midst. We have them to assimilate, to educate, to feed, to house, and to govern. The problem now is a social one, - how to unite into one people a congestion of races more diverse than was gathered around the tower of Babel. Our problem is to ascertain whether the modern immigrant is a menace or an aid in strengthening our democracy.



CHAPTER II

The History of Immigration

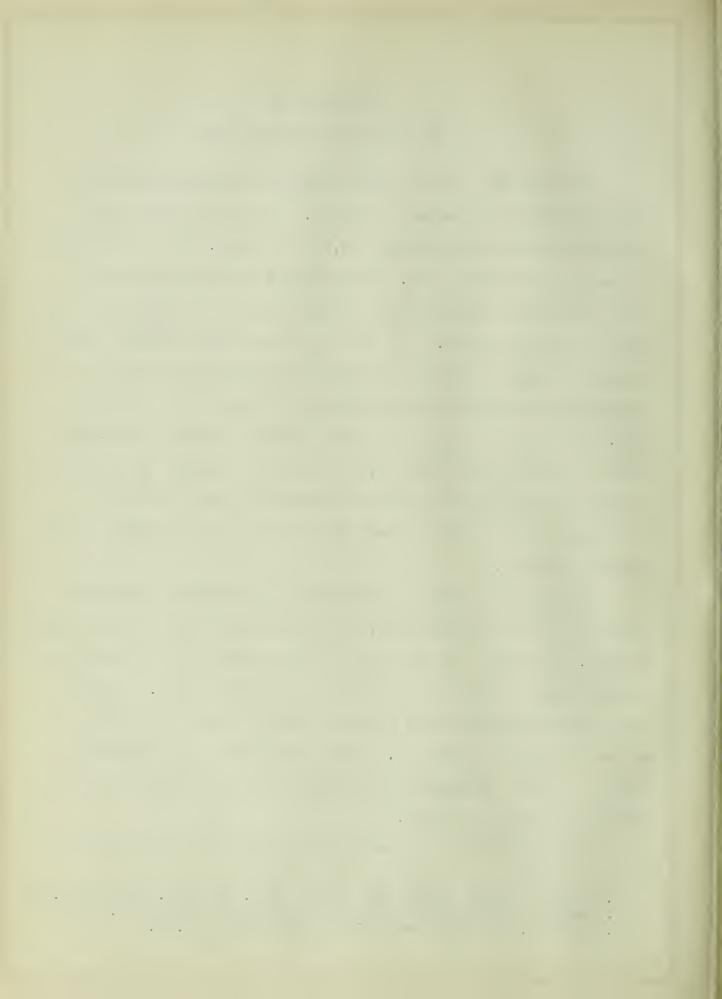
The immigrant problem dates back to the year 1820, when definite statistics became available. It was not until that year that there were more than 20,000 arrivals. The 100000 mark was not reached until 1842. Since that time there have been only four years with less than 100,000 and two of these were years of the Civil War. It was not until after 1842 that our immigration gave a hint of assuming its present proportion. By 1850 the immigration tide was swelled to 369,000 in a single year. Then came the panic of 1857, and this era of depression saw the figures fall from 427,000 in 1854 to 118,000 in 1859. The flow of immigration began to recover in 1860, but in the two years that followed it fell to a point as low as that of the earliest forties.

By the end of the war the number of immigrants reached a quarter of a million annually, and passed the 400%,000 mark again in 1872. However, the hard times of the middle 70's forced the figures down from 457,000 in 1873 to 138,000 in 1878. By 1880 the stream had reached its highest rark and then set a new record in 1882 with 786,000. After this period it dropped to 338,000 in 1886, rising again in 1892 to 623,000, and once more falling to 229,000 in 1898.3

The next decade is a period when immigration increased by

^{1.} Foreign Immigration, 1897 (55th Cong. 2d sess. House Rep.69)

^{2.} Carlton "History & Problems of Organized Labor" pp. 322. 3. Steiner. "On the Trail of the Immigrants, "p. 90.



leaps and bounds until by 1905 it reached the 1,000,000 mark. The panic of 1907 forced the inflow down to half a million, but by 1910 it recovered half of its loss. In 1911 it slipped back another quarter of a million, standing at 878,000. Up to December 1, 1913, 1,100,000 immigrants had entered American ports. 1

The significance of these figures can best be grasped by a concrete illustration. Let one who has sat on the magnificent stadium at Cambridge as one of the 40,000 spectators at a Harvard-Yale foot-ball game, reflect that the immigrants entering our ports in 1913 would make a throng 27 1/2 times as large as that which packs that great stadium at any large foot-ball game. 2

Prescott F. Hall in his book on Immigration, estimates that the aggregate number of immigrants from the adoption of the Constitution until 1900 is 19,500,000. It is estimated that since 1900 to the year 1912 over 5,000,000 immigrants have come to our country. 4 In 1910 only 27 states exceeded in population the number of immigrants coming here in 1907. That incoming horde was equal to one-third of the total population reported by the officials of the first Census in 1790.5

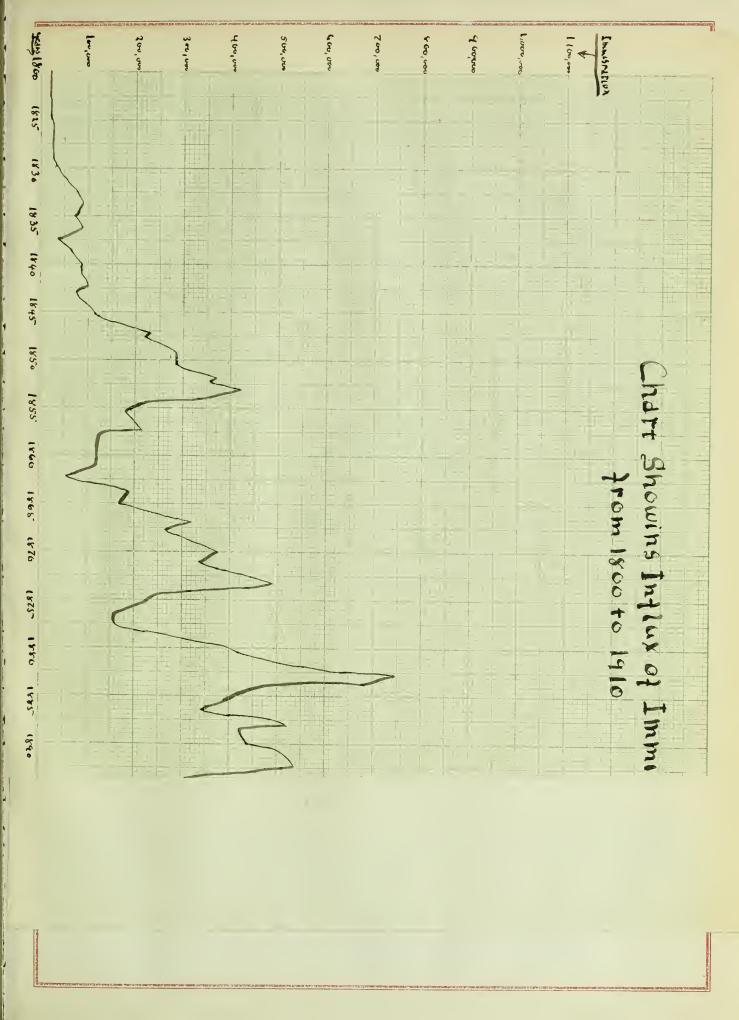
However, we must take into consideration that the total immigration during a given time is always more than the net gain because many immigrants return each year to their home country. Accurate statistics of immigrant aliens are only available from

F. J. Haskin, "The Immigrant", p.24.
 Frederic Ogg, "American Im. at High Tide" (W.W.14:8879.)

Prescott F. Hall, "Immigration" p. 9.
 "Immigration of Aliens into U.S." (62d Cong.2d Sess. House Report 851, Part 2 (1912)

^{5.} Carlton, "History and Problems of Organized Labor", 324.







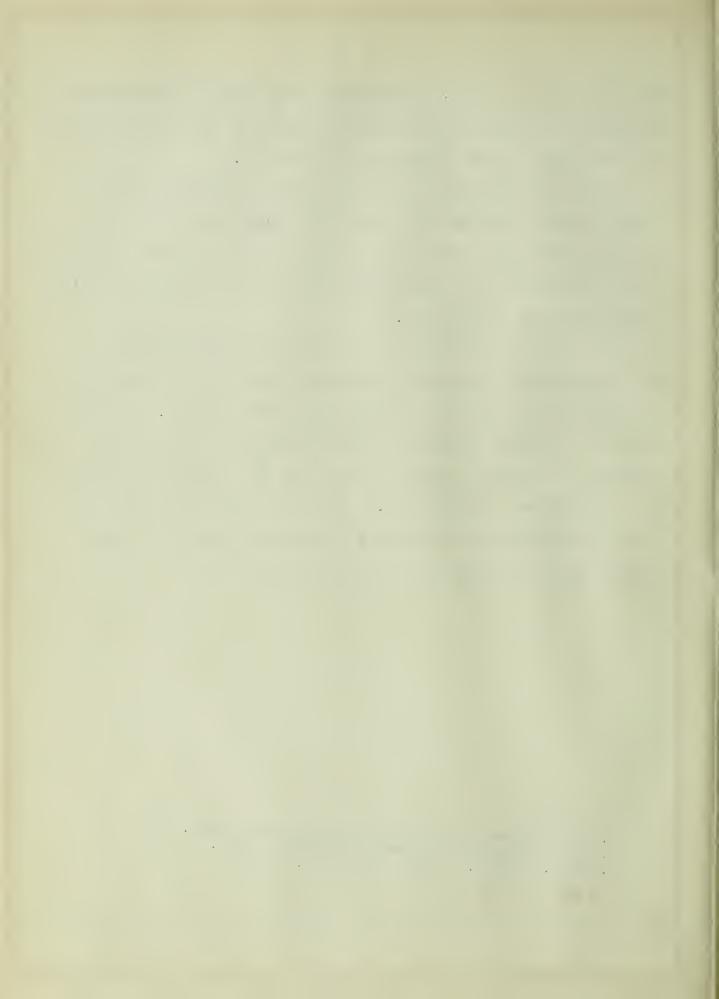
the final year of 1908. During that year the alien immigration amounted to 782,870, and the alien emigration amounted to 395,073 or a net gain through immigration of 387,793.

Senator Dillingham, chairman of the Immigration Commission, reported that in 1907, there was a net loss of 109,000 through emigration, that is (the total immigration over emigration) for a ten-year period ending June 30, 1908, was 68% of the total immigration for that period.²

These figures show that the influx of immigrants into the United States has been a phenomenal one, such as the world has not witnessed since the fall of the Roman Empire. In the words of Professor Ripley, "We have to do, not with the slow processes of growth by deposit or accretion, but with a violent and and volcanic dislocative. We are called upon to survey a lava flow of population suddenly cast forth from Europe, and spread indiscriminately over a new continent." 3

^{1.} The History and Problems of Immigration, p. 325

The Bureau of Immigration Reports, 1909.
 Prof. Ripley. "19th Century R. 57:294".



CHAPTER III

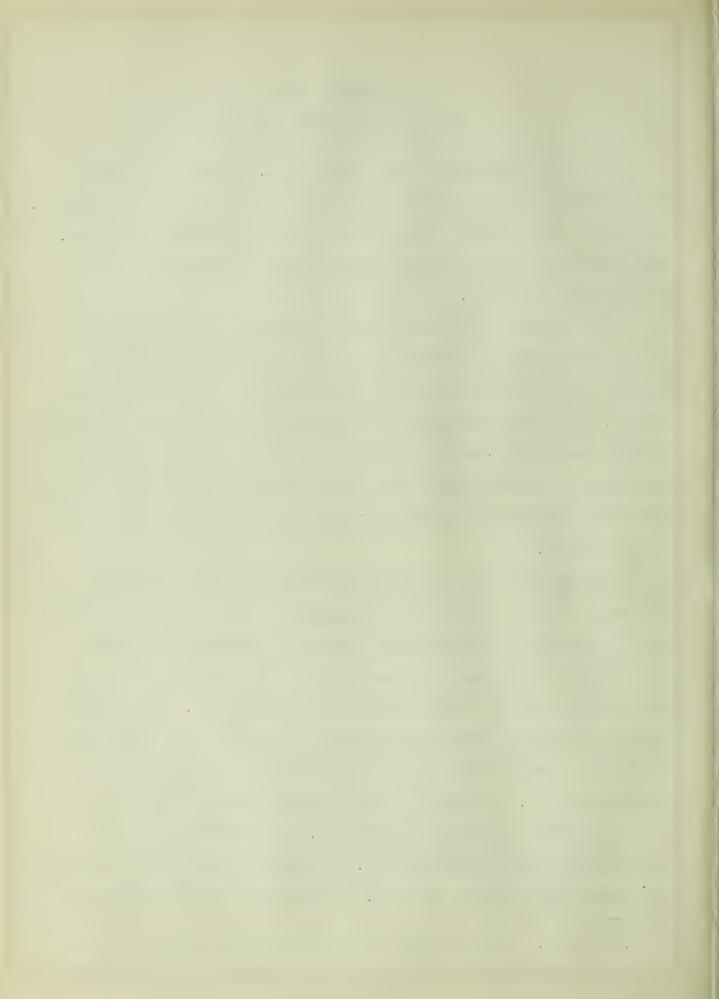
The Causes of Immigration

As I have previously mentioned, Prof. Ripley has likened this incoming horde of immigrants to the lava of an active volcano. Now comes the question, what are the causes for such conditions. The causes for this volcanic outburst must be sought both in Europe and in America.

The fundamental cause of early immigration can be traced to the fact that the United States was a land of freedom while Europe was fettered with bonds of religious and political persecution. The latter immigration is due to the fact that the United States was a new country, abounding in free land and undeveloped resources, a country where there was an equal opportunity for all, while the old world has already exploited her labor and her economic facilities.

The political and religious persecution have played an important part in stimulating the migration of people to America. Since the day that the Puritans landed at Plymough Rock, the United States has been known as the land of the free and the refuge for the weak and the oppressed of every nation. The revolutionary movements that swept Europe in 1815, 1830 and 1848 drove thousands of exponents of advanced political thought to seek refuge in America. Such men as John Rearney came to America as a result of these political revolutions. In 1850, 63,182 German liberalists came to this country. In 1852, 145,918, and in 1854, 215,009 Germans came to America. The result was such staunch

^{1.} Steiner. "On the Trail of the Immigrant", page 98...



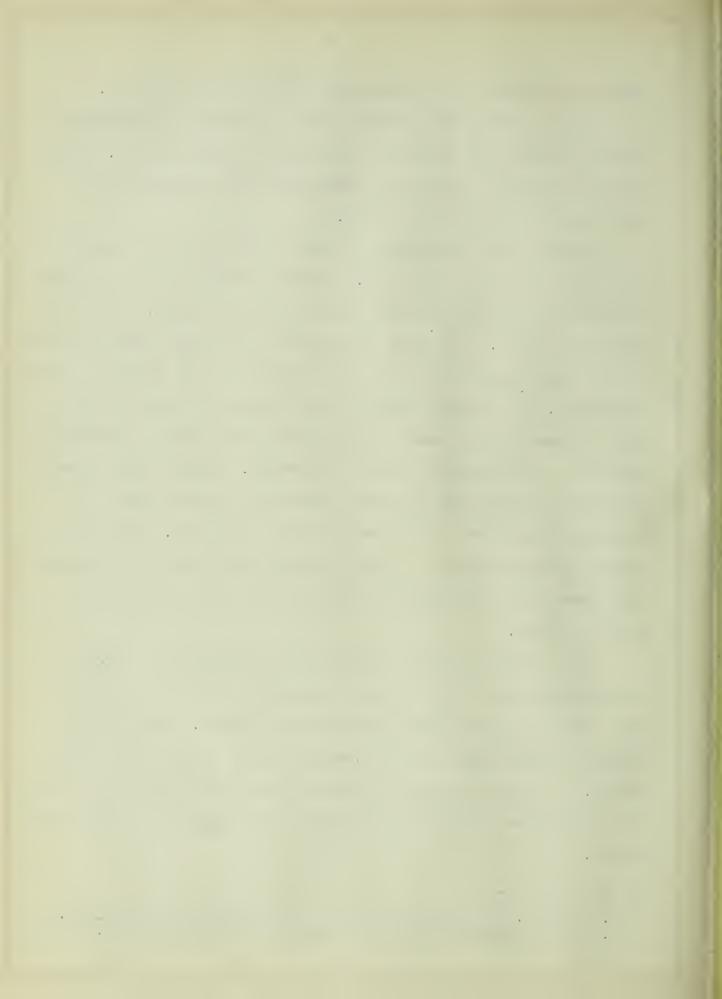
German settlements as we find around Belleville, Illinois.

France, Russia and Poland, have contributed of their best citizens because of religious and political persecutions. Among the minor causes of the early emigration was a desire to escape compulsory military service.

Present day immigration is due to economic rather than to political conditions in Europe. The United States was recognized as having an economic superiority over the old world. This was due to two facts. The first of these was the small ratio between men and land, and the second, the character of the American people themselves. The combination of these factors, a unique people on a rich and virgin land, has given the United States an eminent position in the economic life of the world. Higher wages, more rapid advancement, and an equal chance were possibilities in America, which were inconceivable in the old world. The downtrodden people of Europe, aided by exploiting steam ship companies, were quick to grasp the opportunities which the United States offered.

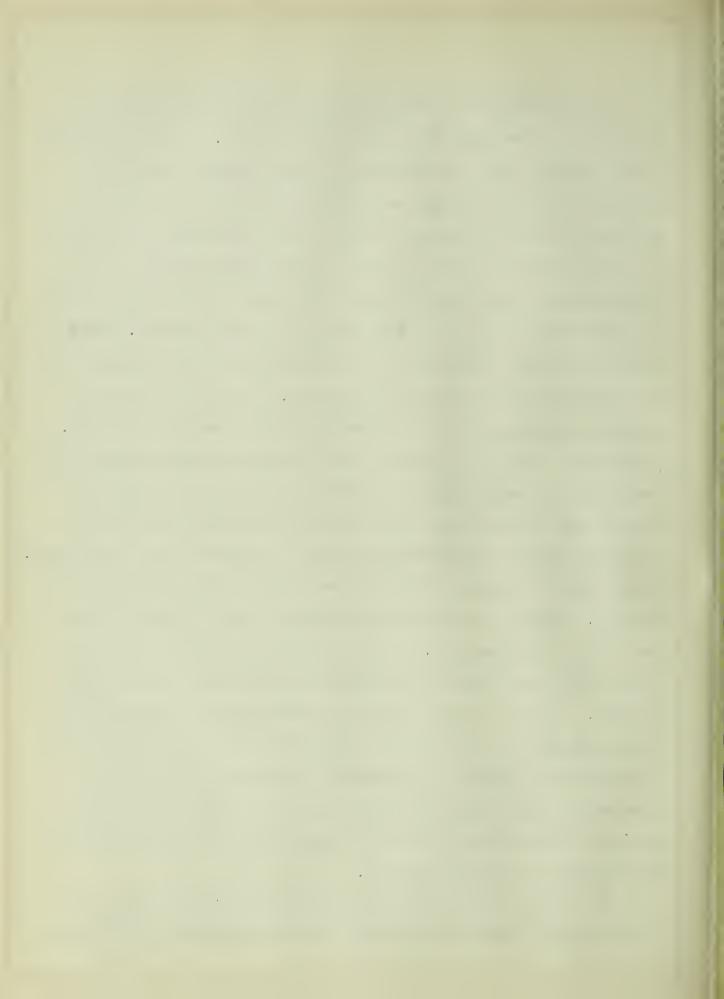
As a result of these opportunities from 1847 to 1854, we have the migration from Ireland induced by suffering in connection with the potato famine and landlord system. During the period of eight years nearly 1,200,000 Irish came to the United States.² In recent years the man from Russia and Southern Europe leaves his home because of the higher wages offered in the United States.

Carlton. History and Problems of Organized Labor, p.326.
 John R. Ammons, "Races & Immigrants in America, Chap. X, p.63.

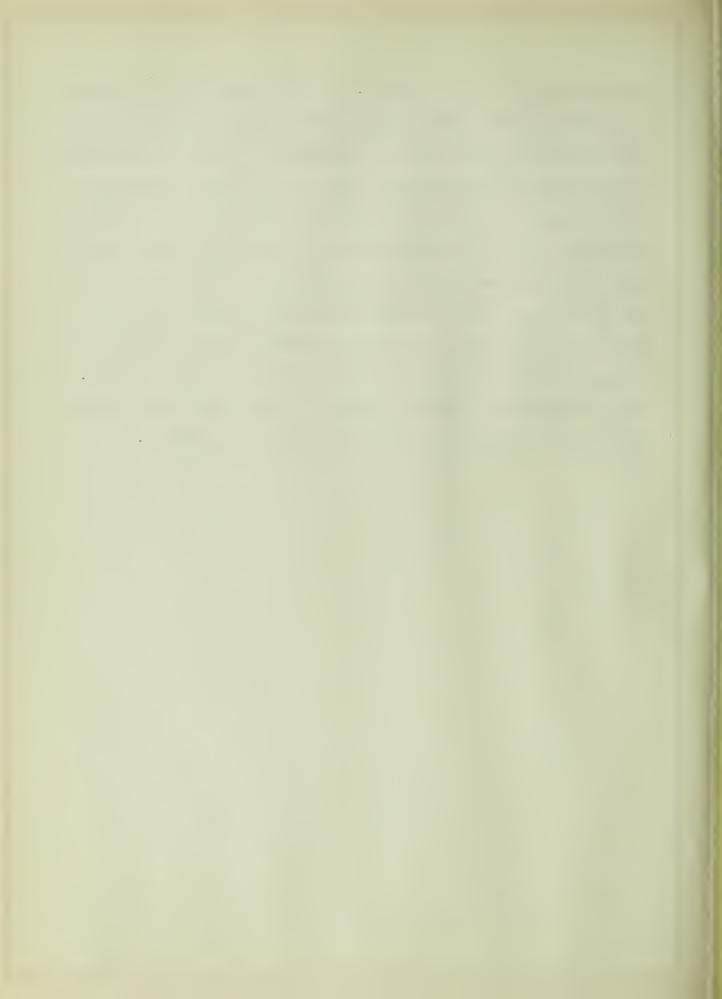


Russia affords a striking illustration of the change in the causes of immigration to the United States. A recent article from a Russian paper as reprinted in the Literary Digest for December 27, 1910, brings the fact forcefully to our attention. The great masses of Russian subjects who in the past were deserting their mother country for the more hospitable shores of the United States, were for the most part, Jews, Poles and Fins, and the government was glad to rid itself of these elements, whom they considered, because of their advanced political thought, to be dangerous to the interests of Russia. "But within the last decade, according to Mr. M. Menshiper of the Novoye Vrenga (St. Petersburg, "Not only Jews and other so-called undesirables, but peasants from many provinces, German colonists from the Volga region, and Lithuanians, have been leaving their homes in evergrowing numbers, and crossing the ocean to better their conditions," Yearly 250,000 Russians subjects set out for the United States of America. Russia, in its backward state of agriculture can not pay her farm laborers \$2.00 a day, as can Canada and the United States with their highly intensified and developed agricultural systems. In the last few decades so close is the connection between immigration and industrial prosperity in this country, many believe that immigration is purely an industrial or economic phenomenon depending upon the opportunities of the country, and that the religious and political causes which stimulated earlier immigration no longer hold good.

A striking fact shown by the statistics since 1840 is the close sympathy between immigration and the industrial prosperity



and depression of this country. A curve line on the accompanying chart has been drawn so as to show the immigration since 1800 and another line shows the movement of imports of merchandise per capita of the population. This latter, except for tariff charges, is a fair index of the cycles of prosperity and depression. By following these two lines on the chart we notice that the coincidence is close, except for a few years prior to the Civil War. Both movements reached high points in 1873 and fell very low in 1879; then rose in 1882 and fell in 1885; then reached another high point in 1892, and a low point in 1897. Finally the period of 1905 of prosperity and heavy imports brings the largest immigration in the history of the country.



CHAPTER IV

The Classes of Immigrants

This change in the cause of immigration has led to a change in the races of the immigrants themselves. The bulk of immigration always has come from Europe, in fact 93 out of every 100 immigrants arriving in the United States came from this continent. Prior to 1883, 19/20 of all our European immigrants came from northern Europe, that is from the United Kingdom, Germany, Scandinavia, Netherlands, Belgium, France and Switzerland. As recently as 1883 less than one-seventh of the European immigration came from South Eastern Europe.

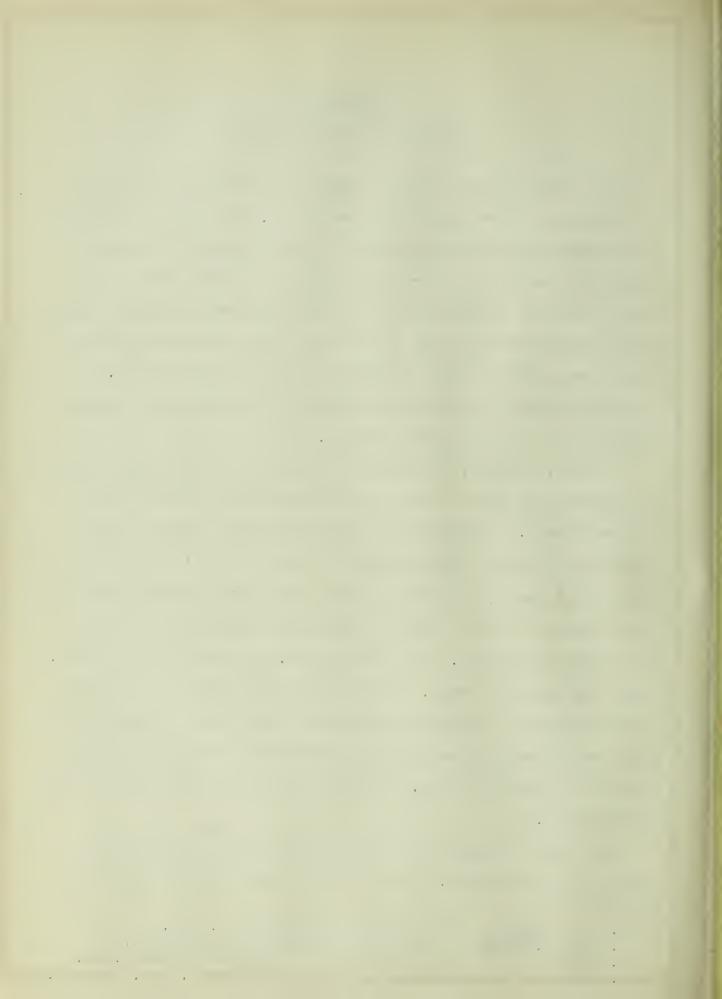
Today, however, the source of the tide of immigration has so changed that 90 per cent of our immigrants come from South Eastern Europe. During the decade 1851-1860, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland furnished 88 per cent of the total immigration, while Austria, Hungary, Italy, Russia and Poland sent only four-tenths of one per cent. During the decade 1881 to 1890, the percentage was 55.6 per cent and 17.6 per cent respectively. Then the balance turned. During the decade 1891 to 1900 the three countries of Northern Europe only sent 31.6 per cent of the total while the Southern European countries furnished over one-half of the entire stream. In 1909 the figures were 13% and 63% respectively.

This slavic stream of immigration was begun by the Poles, especially from Russia. Most of these were unskilled laborers

^{1.} H. B. Grose - "The Incoming Millions", p. 139.

^{2.} John R. Commons - "Races and Immigrants in America."

^{3.} Carlton, "History & Problems of Organized Labor," p.328.
4. Willcox, "Distribution of Immigration"Quart. Jour. Econ. Aug. 1810



who worked in the fields. The Slovaks, Croaticans, Montenegrins, are among the newest of the slavic people. The Italian immigrant is coming to the United States at an average of 200,000 every year. He comes principally from Southern Europe, and from crowded cities.

It must be born in mind that the modern immigrant is a far different character than his predecessor from Northern Europe. The people coming before 1880 were not dissimilar to the American colonists. The early immigrant was a protestant. He was a skilled artisan or a progressive farmer of the thrifty, self-reliant type, and, finally, he was accustomed to a representative form of government. His ancestors, since the days of the Magna Carta, had sacrificed all of the principles of self government. These men formed a very important factor in the development of all territory west of the Alleghany mountains. He was a builder. He came with his family. He entered practically every branch of activity in every part of the country. Thrift and frugality were the secrets of his success which made the laborer of yesterday the farm owner of today.

But what shall we say of the present day immigrant? Since 1880 the immigration has come from Southern and South Eastern Europe bringing an entirely different class of people. The present day immigrant is an unskilled laborer or a primitive farmer, and, finally, he comes from countries where self-government is unknown. The Polish peasant, for example, since the par-

^{1.} Steiner, "On the Trail of the Immigrant."



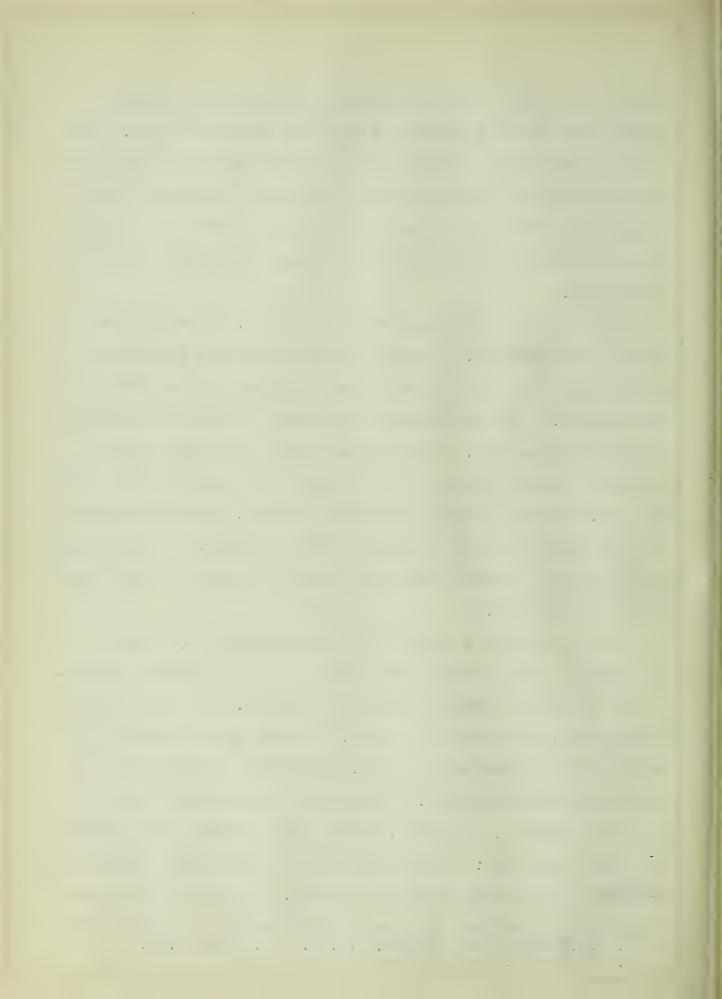
tition of Poland in 1793 has been a man without a country, beaten down by the tyrannical rule of an autocratic Czar. The Italian comes from a country which is the home of the black hand and the Carbonan, where political intrigue, revolution, and treachery is the rule and not the exception. The Slavs are, if we read correctly the history of the past, incapable of selfgovernment.

The old immigrant came with his family. More than twofifths were females. The new immigration leaves the women folks behind, and only a little more than one-fourth of the arrivals are females. 1 The educational advantages of the old immigrant are even more marked. There are more than thirteen times as many illiterates coming to us from the new immigration than from the old.2 In the words of Jeremiah W. Jenks, "More than 35% of the new immigrants are illiterate, 73% are males, a large portion are unskilled laborers; about 40% return to Europe and 30% take back their savings.3

The presence in America of a large number of Southern Europeans is both a cause and effect of the far reaching industrial and social changes of the last decades. Our free land has disappeared, the frontier is gone. We have passed from an agricultural to an industrial nation. Intensive production has succeeded extensive industry. Large scale production is the rule not the exception. Railways, mines, and factories are calling for unskilled labor. Modern machinery has made mere chained automatons of the average unskilled laborer. The United States as a result of this change, is in a period of social, political, and

^{1.} J.F. Haskin, "The Immigrant", p. 56. 2. Same, p. 60.

^{3.} Jeremiah W. Jenks, Worlds Work, 22:14368.



industrial unrest. Many of the evils of our present system are laid at the door of the immigrant.

CHAPTER V

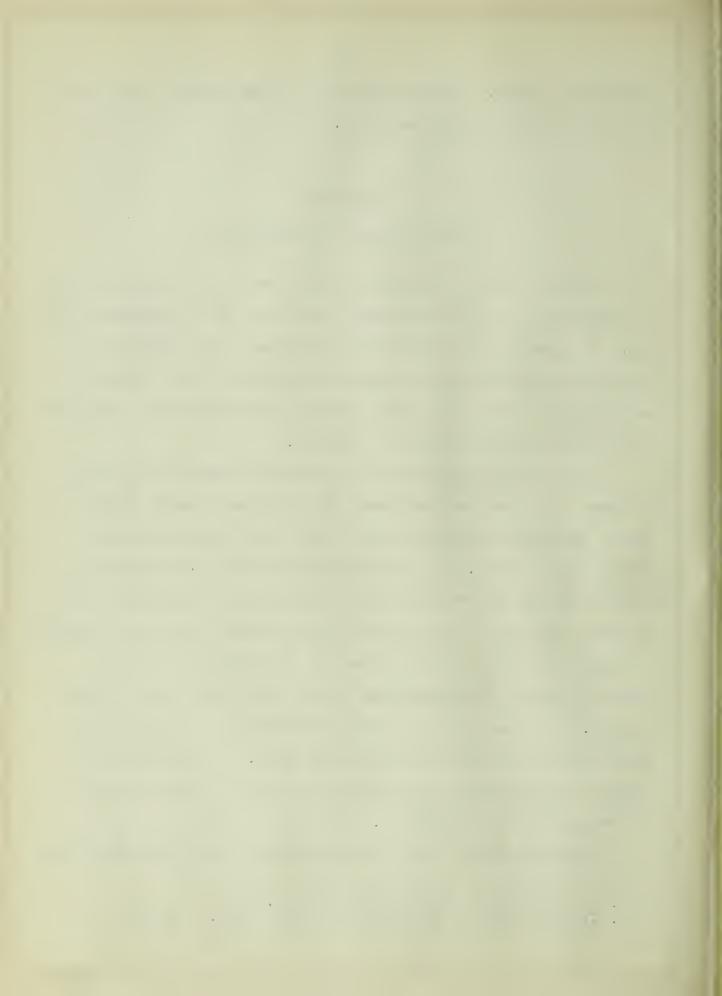
The Problems of Immigration

In the light of continual opposition to the immigrant, one is naturally led to believe that there must be an immigrant problem. The question is whether this problem is one which can be isolated, segregated, and separated from our social, political and industrial life, or is the problem a secondary one as claimed by the sociologists and social workers.

Two theories concerning the immigrant problem have been advanced: one that the immigrant is the cause of many of our social and industrial evils, the other that he is merely an effect, not a cause. The labor leaders such as John Mitchell and Samuel Gompers maintain that the immigrant is a menace to our very industrial and political life. while the social workers such as Jacob Riis, Kate Cleghorn, E. A. Steiner, and Jane Addams, say that "the immigrant is far more sinned against than sinning. 2 Professor Hayes of the University of Illinois says that there is no immigrant problem as such. The immigrant is merely an expression, a barometer as it were, of our social, political and industrial unrest.

These so called social workers advance the following theory

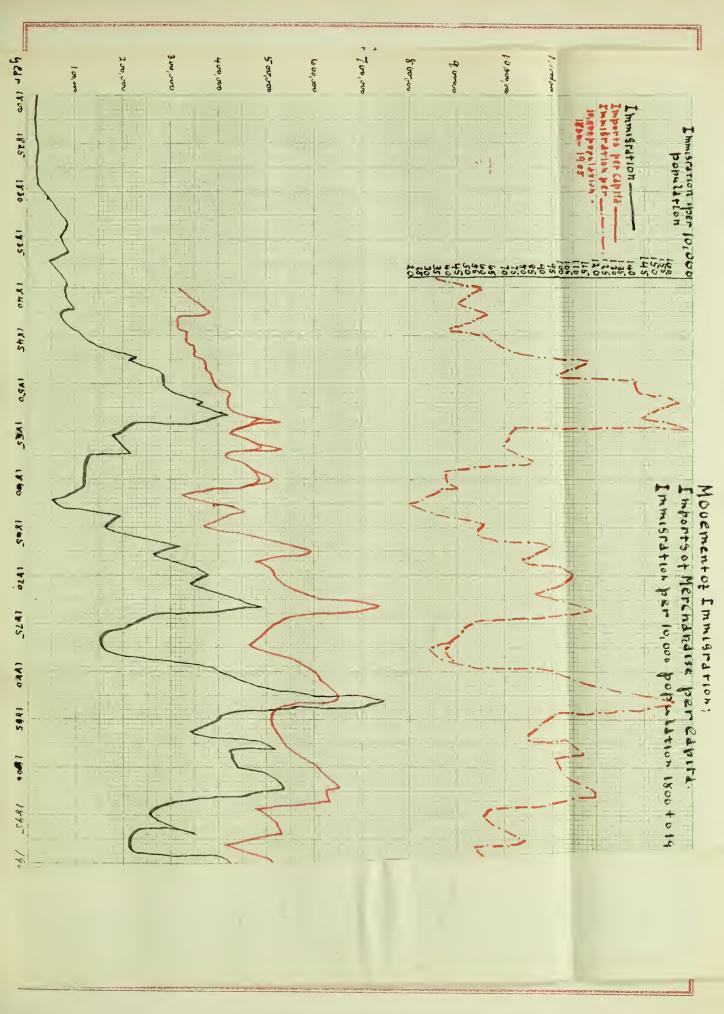
John Mitchell, "Organized Labor" p.178.
 Jacob A. Riis, "How the Other Half Lives." 48-54.



of the immigrant problem. In the past too narrow a view point has been taken of the so called immigrant problem, due to the continued political agitation found in every party platform and resulting in the vetoing of immigration bills during the administration of Cleveland and Taft. The proper prospective has been lacking. Many evils, such as crime, pauperism, slum conditions, have been laid down at his door, whereas, in reality these evils were the result of our social, political, and industrial unrest. As Jane Addams pointed out in the Survey for January 4, 1914. "Until industrial conditions are changed in America, the immigrant will be blamed for conditions for which the country and the community are responsible." Socially, politically, and economically the United States has failed to adjust itself to new conditions caused by over rapid growth. During this rapid economic and industrial expansion the dollar has been placed above the man. Unskilled workers both native and foreign have been exploited. The inevitable result of this has been low wages. Low wages means poverty -poverty means pauperism and crime. The immigrant being the latest addition to our industrial life, and coming in at the bottom of the scale, these conditions have fastened themselves upon him. He is in no wise responsible for them. He is an effect not a cause.

This is the theory of social workers. Diametrically opposed to this we find the concensus of public opinion that the immigrant is the cause not an effect of our social, political and industrial evils. Our problem therefore is to endeavor to discover whether the immigrant is a cause or an effect, or merely a contributing





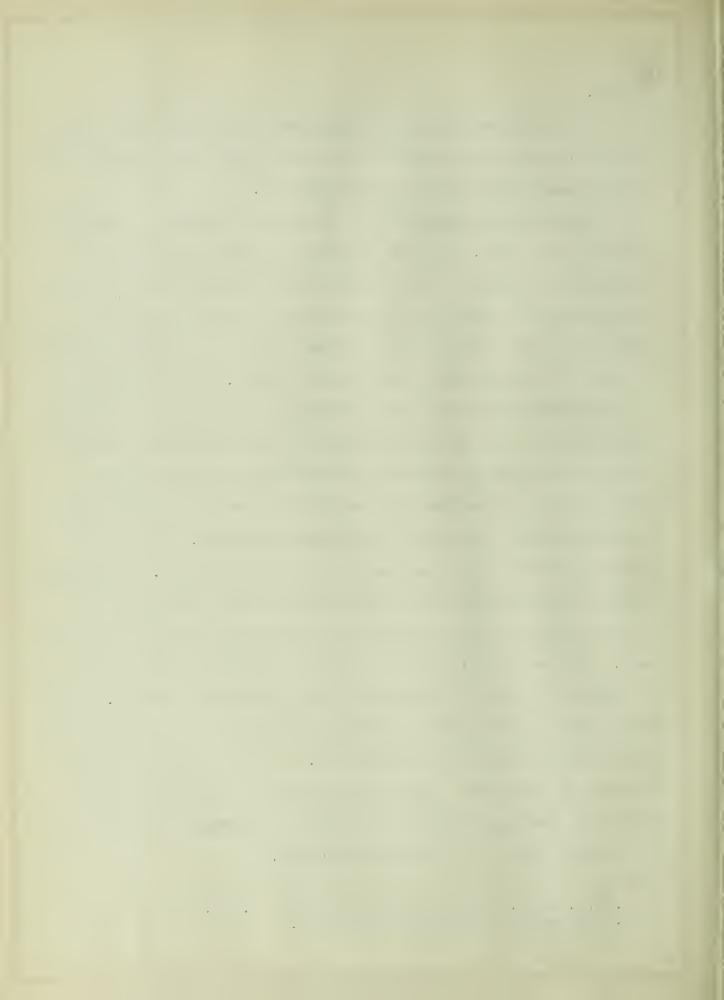


factor.

This problem can best be discussed from three view points: economic, social and political, for into these three classes fall all the accusations against the immigrant.

The economic aspect of our question is perhaps the most fundamental and vital. Has the immigrant lowered wages and the standards of living? Is a further labor supply needed? Is the foreigner driving out of employment the native American worker? - The whole problem centers around the question whether or not the United States needs the immigrant. It is certainly an indisputable fact that the immigrant of the past was an invaluable asset to our industrial growth. The Immigration Commission reported that the wonderful industrial expansion of the United States during the past twenty years would have been impossible without the influx of European laborers. He dug our ditches, he mined our coal and he built our railways. The recent immigrant has performed the crude manual labor necessary for the upbuilding of large industrial plants and transportation systems. The use of large scale industry has been dependent upon the influx of unskilled laborers from Southeastern Europe. He is ably fitted by character and physique to perform the menial labor necessary for large-scale production. We find that 60% of the laborers in our mines, 67% of the laborers in the steel mills. 70% in the packing industries and 90% of the railroad builders are of foreign birth or of foreign parentage.2

H.B.Grose. "The Incoming Millions",
 XII Census "Occupation" clxxxvii.

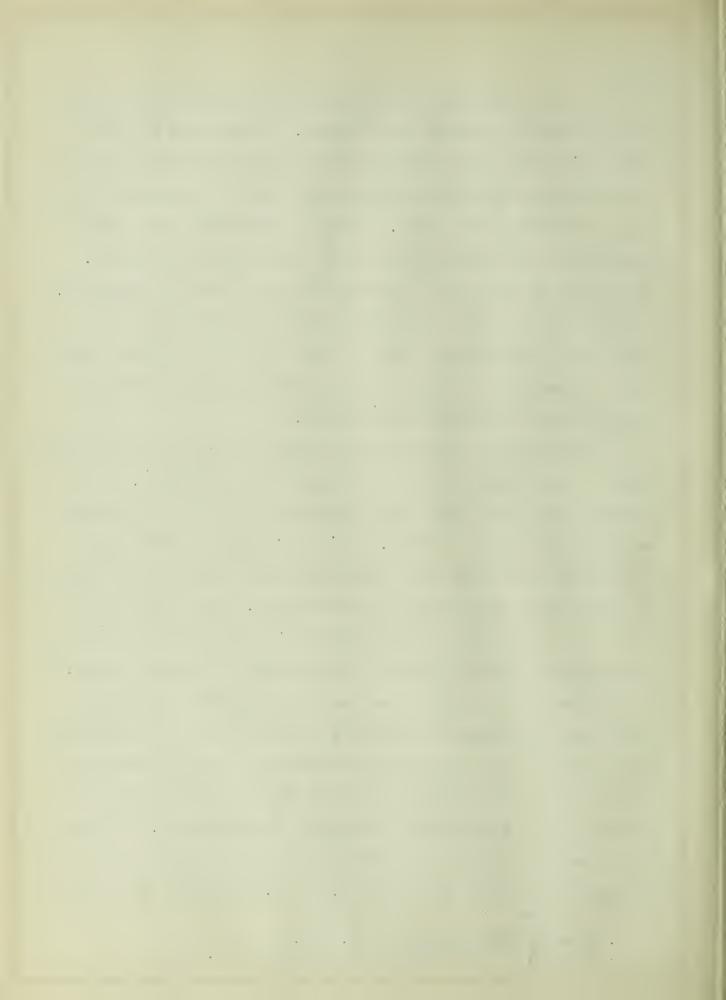


In the thirty-seven leading industries east of the Rocky Mountains 60% of laborers are foreign. Of the nine million immigrants who entered between 1899 and 1912, 70% went to the manufacturing Atlantic States and over 14% to the manufacturing states of Illinois and Iowa. Thus we find that large scale industry and the immigrant are today practically synonymous. Where we find large scale industry there we find the immigrant. In this age of fierce competition, of intensive production, large scale production is going to be the rule, not the exception. Judging from the past this points to the fact that more laborers will be needed in the future.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that there is at any and all times a large number of wage earners out of employment. Due to seasonal labor and tramp life, accurate statistics on unemployment are difficult to obtain. The XIII Census reported that the United States furnished employment under normal conditions to about 92% of the available labor supply. Mr. Horwich in his book on the Immigrant and Industry attempts to explain away unemployment by showing that it is the result of seasonal labor. The sailors on the great lakes can not be turned into winter farm hands; the masons, carpenters, and artisans of our northern states can not all find winter employment in our factories, the lumber jacks of the Minnesota and Wisconsin lumber camps are by necessity out of employment during the summer months. On the other hand, John Mitchell in the Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 39, p.126, says, "It is sane

^{1.} Roberts "The Immigrant", p. 157.

^{2.} Hourwich, "The Immigrant and Industry" p. 176.



to say that there are approximately two million persons in enforced idleness." A careful survey of these statistics show that they were collected during the financial depression of 1907 and 1908. They must therefore bequalified as showing a prejudice on the question of the immigrant and unemployment. The fact that in December 1913 there were 75,000 men unemployed in the city of Chicago he laid at the door of the immigrant, or must we look deeper into the problem and seek to discover whether the blame should not be placed upon an industrial system? It is a significant fact that A. A. Henderson, Chairman of the Cook County Board whose duty it is to feed the hungry and clothe the poor, appeared in the month of December before Congress and opposed any further restriction of immigration.

More directly connected with this problem than the question of unemployment is the accusation that the immigrant has, and is today lowering wages. According to the standard laws of economics there are two ways in which immigration may operate to lower wages. First, by increasing the supply of labor in the country and thereby reducing the remuneration. And, second, by introducing a body of laborers whose customary wages in the countries from which they come, and whose corresponding standard of living are much lower than the prevailing standards in our country.

Prof. Tansing, Vol. 2, p. 139, says, "The position of the common laborers in the United States has been kept at its low level only by the continued flow of immigrants. These constant new arrivals have kept down wages." This same opinion is held by Jenks, Hall, and Commons. It is not because the American has had to compete with more laborers but with cheaper laborers



that has been disastrous. It is what Prof. Commons calls the "competitive struggle for standards of living" which has been the determining factor.

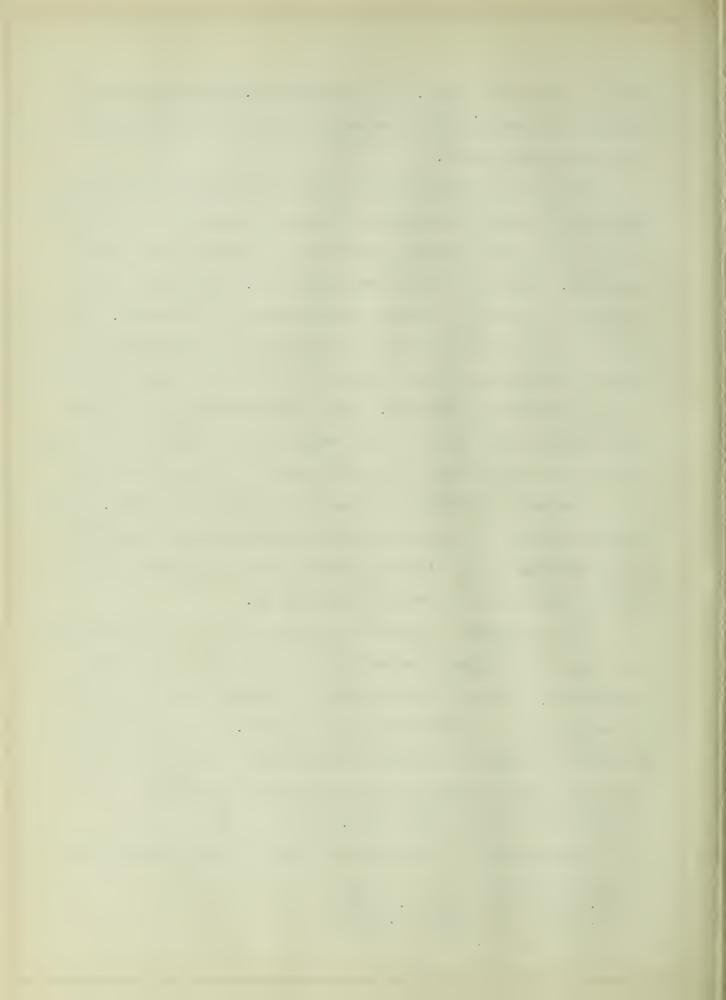
The standard of living has always been high in the United States, as a result of the ratio of man to land. If the factories would not pay a living wage there was always free land in abundance, where the wage earner could go. The result was a standard of living far ahead of any country in the world. For years, however, there has been introduced into our country a horde of foreigners, whose standard of living was far inferior to that of the native Americans. They come because they believe that they can live better on the wage they get here than at home. This wage for which they sell their labor is appreciably below that on which the American workman can support his family. What does this mean? It means that the American laborer is continuously underbid on the labor market by the vast number of alien laborers who can do the work as good as he.

The Immigration Commission reported that in the bituminous coal regions of Western Pennsylvania the new immigrants have displaced the native born or earlier immigrants who have moved to the southern or western mining districts. The average wage in the coal regions of Western Pennsylvania is 42 cents a day less than in the mining regions of the south and west, due to the influx of the new immigrants.2

Low standards of living on the part of the new unskilled

^{1.} Worlds Work 22 - p. 14371 2. " 22 - pp 14371

^{22 -} pp.14371-3



immigrant menaces the higher standard of American laborer, for as bad money drives out good, so does cheap labor drive out those demanding higher standards of living. As Prof. Commons in his book on Immigration, page 151, says "In all industries one nationality has been displaced by another satisfied with a lower standard of living."

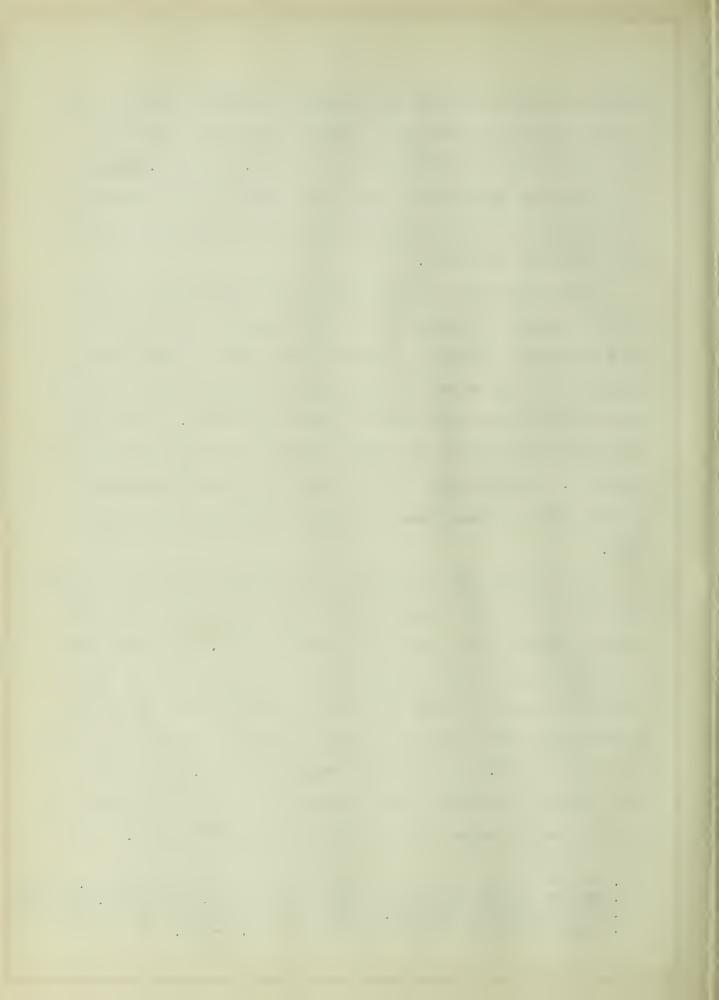
These arguments, however, can not be construed to mean that the immigrant has actually lowered wages, for we find as the Immigration Commission reported, that there is not a single industry in which wages are not higher at the present time than when the immigrant entered this field of activity. Wages have constantly risen during the period of the greatest influx of immigration. Again wages are far higher in those states where the immigrant is found than in those states where he is not found.

3The average wage per capita for unskilled labor in Illinois with 44% foreign population is \$599, while for Kansas with 19% foreign population the per capita wage is \$410. New York with the highest percentage of foreigners has a per capita of \$610, while North Carolina where we find the purest native blood and where the immigrant problem is unknown, has an average per capita wage of only \$210. As Adams and Sumner and Prof. Ely report in their books on economics, "the accusation that the immigrant has actually lowered wages appears to be entirely unfounded. The

^{1.} Walker, "Discussion in Economics & Statistics" Vol. 2, pp. 417-451

^{2.} Report of the Industrial Commission, Vols. 15 & 19:p.95-7,1030

^{3.} North American 188:360. "What America Pays Europe for Labor."
4. Adams & Sumner, "Labor Problems" - pp.68-112.



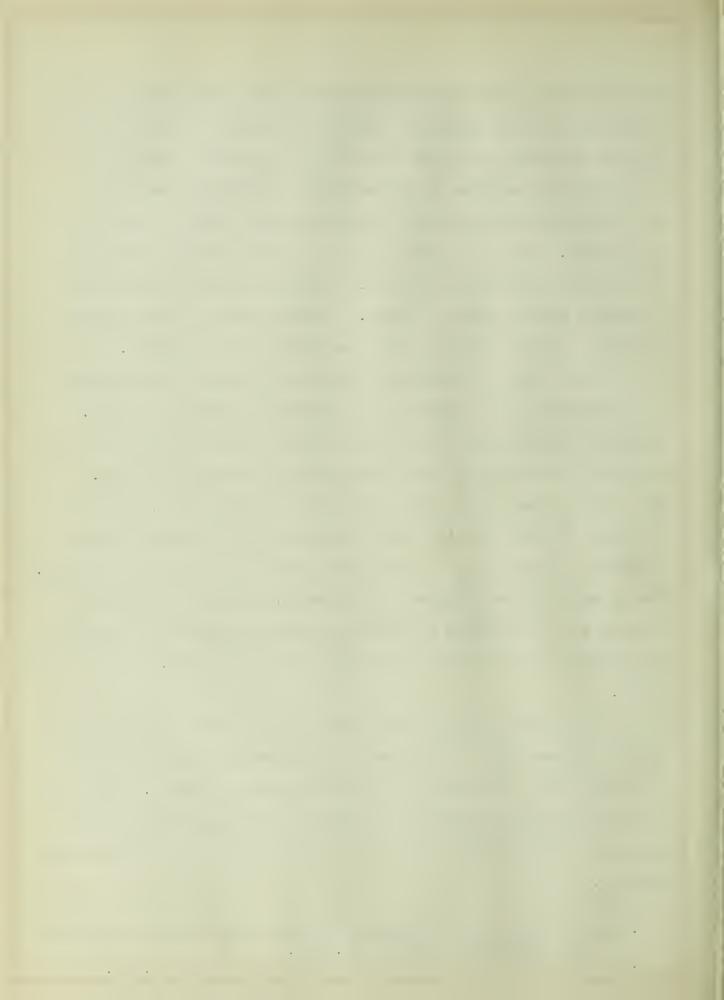
only question that remains is whether wages would not have risen higher had not the immigrant come to our shores? This question must be answered in the affirmative for the great influx of unskilled labor resulted in the employer splitting up what had been skilled or semi-skilled operations into three or four operations. Thus the price paid for a given complex operation or job was considerably reduced. Immigration has hastened an increased sub-division of labor. Subdivision of labor always means the lowering of wages of a majority of the workers.

This influx of unskilled laborers has raised the American in the majority of cases to the positions of skilled laborer. President Hadley says that immigration has been the cause of uplifting the native and the immigrant of preceding decades. The native workers have been compelled to rise or die. This is evidenced by the fact that the work which the Irish and German immigrant formerly did, is now being done by the Slav and Italian. The process may be compared to a pyramid, whereas the base increases with the influx of these unskilled foreigners, those who were formerly at the base rise one notch on the side, in the social scale.

On the other hand, John Mitchell says, "The American people should not sacrifice the future of the working classes in order to improve the conditions of the inhabitants of Europe." America owes no obligation to become an educator and an uplifter of the masses of Southeastern Europe at the sacrifice of her native born workers.

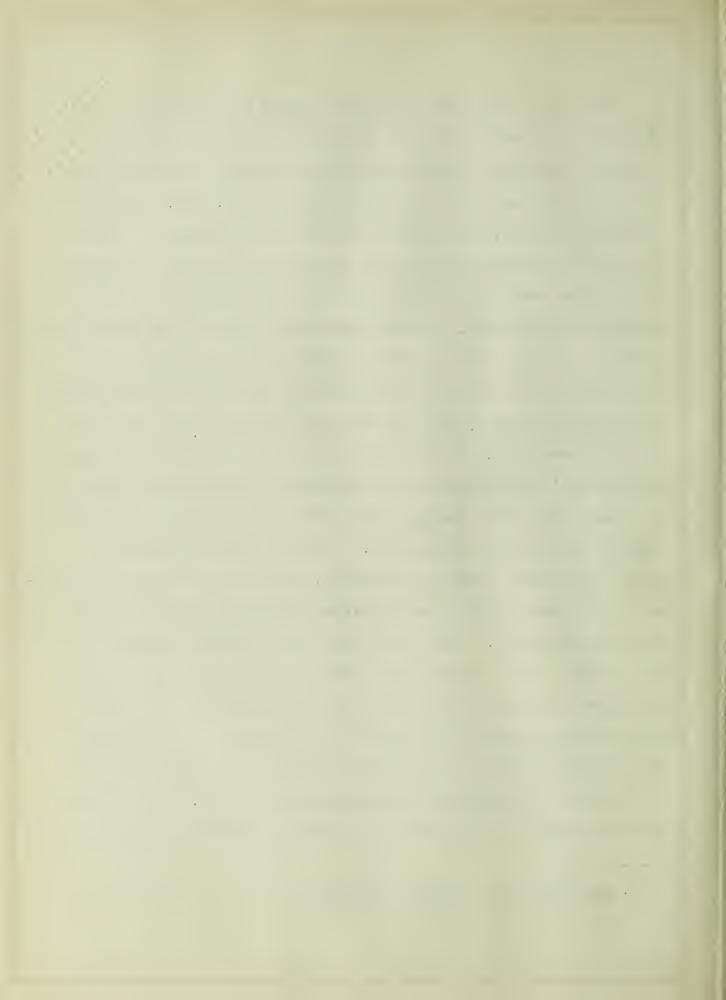
^{1.} Brief statements of Conclusions & Recommendations of Immigration Commission (1910), pp.1216.

^{2.} Carlton "History & Problems of Organized Labo." p.134.



The fact remains that the workingmen both native and unskilled have been in the past exploited by capital - that they have not received a just reward for their work, and many laborers have been cast down below the poverty line. But again we must stop and ask, is this the fault of the immigrant? Would not this exploitation have taken place with or without immigration? Government legislation in the past has been entirely in favor of the employer. While Germany and England have been giving to their employees the benefit of industrial legislation, the United States has with a few exceptions, such as the State of Wisconsin, stood idly by and has seen her laborers exploited. Industrial insurance, occupational disease laws, child labor laws, working man's compensation act, employers liability act, and min imum wage scale will remedy many of the evils which John Mitchell lays at the door of immigration. In the State of Wisconsin with a two-thirds foreign population, where these progressive measures have been adopted, the so called immigrant problem and menace does not exist. Thus we see that the argument advanced by Mr. Mitchell that immigration is the cause of unemployment and low wages is based merely upon a party generalization without considering the basic principles of the problem. John Mitchell. also indicts the immigrant because he takes back with him upon his return to his native land large sums of money. The amount of money sent back to Italy alone in 1906 by money orders was over

^{1.} John Mitchell (Annals of American Academy of Political Science, July 1909, 34:125-129)

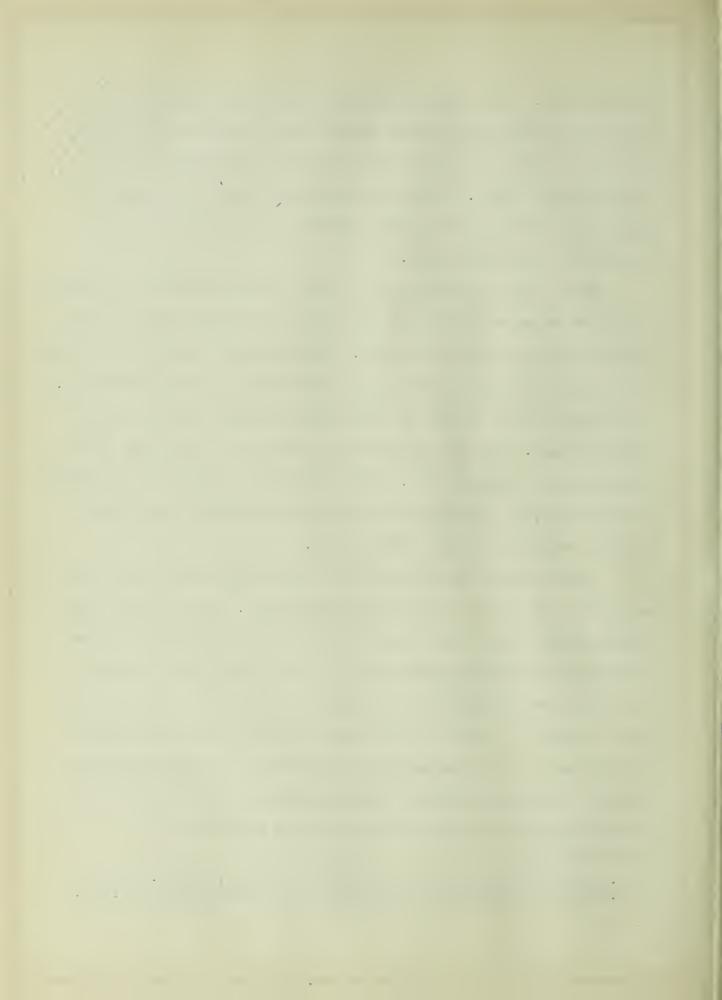


\$16,400,000¹. In the single year of 1906 money orders were sent to one European country which nearly equalled the entire amounts of money shown by all the ariving immigrants of the fiscal year of 1909.² One rough estimate fixes the amount of money sent abroad by foreigners during a year of ordinary prosperity at \$200,000,000.

While this is true, still it must be remembered that America has value received for every dollar in the form of work which these foreigners have performed. These works remain as testimonials of the activities which these immigrants have contributed. They come in the flower of their young manhood and return in their old age. America receives the benefit of the best producing years of their life. This advantage surely will outweigh the \$200,000,000 which these foreigners take back with them on their return to their native land.

When weighed in the balance of our industrial life, the balance is by far in favor of the immigrant. But do the social disadvantages which he brings with him when cast into this balance turn the scales against him? If he is a social menace can we afford to sacrifice our social life at the alter of the god of trade? Is the social record of the immigrant as good as our own? Is his presence in the form of large indigestible lumps in our ten large manufacturing states, and in our largest cities dangerous to American welfare and perpetuity?

^{1.} Taylor "Charities in the Commons" May 4,1907,p.171-172 2. Carlton "History & Problems of Organized Labor", p.375.



The immigration problem directly centers in ten states.

New York, Pennsylvania, and the North Atlantic section gets

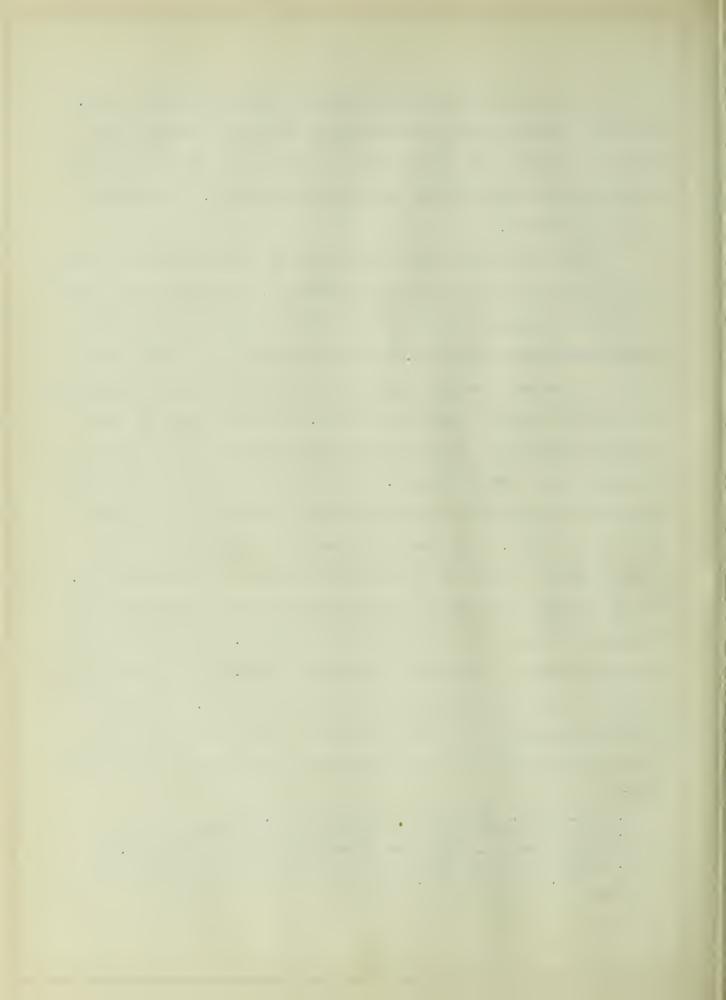
96% of the whole, while the south receives but 4% of the total and 1% of that goes to the South Central States. The whole west has only 4%.

Over one-third of the immigrants in 1906 claimed the state of New York as their ultimate destination. More than one-sixth claimed Pennsylvania; one-twelfth claimed Illinois, and oneseventeenth. Massachusetts. 2 Thus we see that the immigrants crowd to the most densely populated portions of the country, and in the most densely populated states. Consider that in the ten states where we find the immigrant there is one foreignborn for every two Americans. 3 It would be a serious task for these two Americans to assimilate this foreigner if they had him between them. The immigrant tends to congregate in our largest cities where he is not easily reached by the American. In 1900, 66% or two-thirds of the foreign born population were living in cities, 40% in cities over 100,000. In 1910 the percentage living in cities was increased to 72.2% and today threefourths of the foreign-born are living in cities. 4 They are crowding together in "little Italies", "little Russias", and "little Austrias", where the influence of American civilization

^{1.} H.B. Gross. "Aliens or Americans", p.105.

^{2.} American Immigration at High Tide (Worlds Work 14:8886)

Riis, Jacob A. "How the Other Half Lives", 1902, p.49
 Cyrus C. Adams, "Where do the Immigrants Go" Chautaquan, Aug. 1913, 551-55.



never penetrates, and still one million more are coming every year. The great question of immigration is whether the United States under present conditions can accommodate and assimilate this great horde of foreigners. Josiah Strong in his book, "The Challenge of the City" sounds the warning that the cities with their large alien population will result in the downfall of our government. James Bryce on returning from America said to some Americans gathered in London, "Go back to your country and watch closely your cities lest they be the rock upon which the American ship of state shall split."

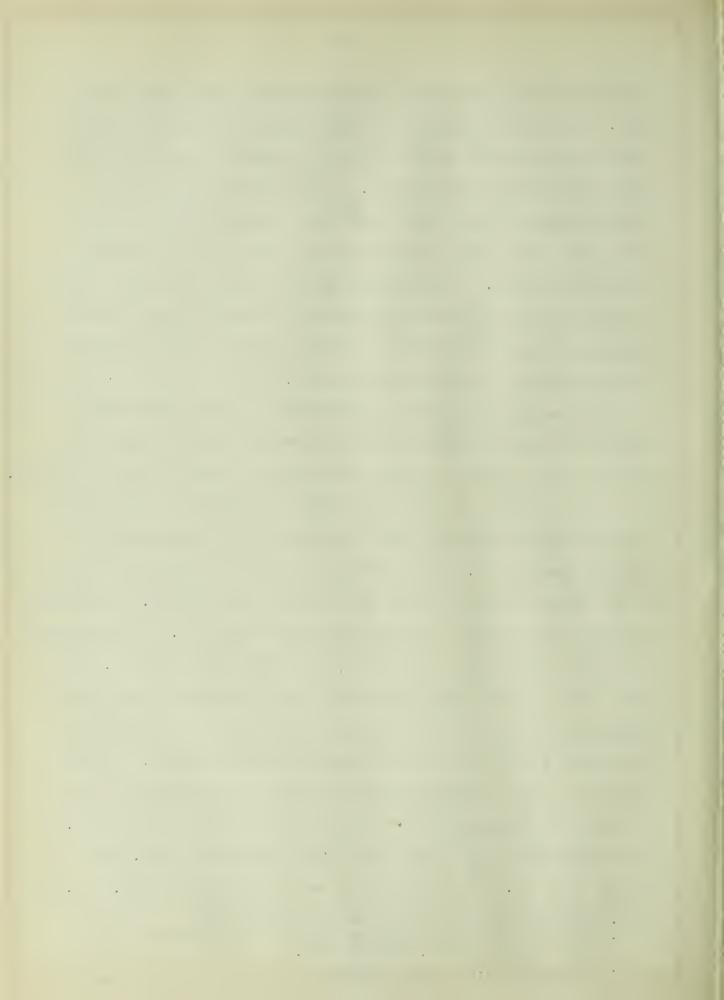
The assimilation of these foreigners is the more difficult when we realize that 35% of the present day's immigrants can not read or write a single word even of their own native tongue?

The statement is often made that the density of population in the United States is still so small that we have plenty of room for immigrants. It is pointed out that the average density of the United States is only about 26 per square mile, 3 as against 400, 500, or even more for some European countries. The immigrant, however, is not evenly distributed over the United States. The truth is as we have shown above, that the immigrants are really being concentrated in the already thickly populated portions of the country, and in the most thickly populated states. In 1907 according to the Immigration Report, 65% of the immigrants were destined for Massachusetts which in 1900 had a density of 348.9 per square mile, 30% to New York with a density of 152.6 per square mile, 17.9% to Pennsylvania with a density of 140.1: 8.1%

^{1.} Josiah Strong, "The Challange of the City."

^{2.} Prescott F. Hall, "Immigration and the Educational Test" (N.A. Review, Oct. 1897, 165:397.

^{3.} Thirteenth U.S. Census Report



to Illinois with a density of 250.3%, while little Rock Island with a density of 407 per square mile was credited with nearly 1%. These six states containing only 5.6% of the total area of the United States, with a density in each case far above the average state, received 68.9% of the immigration that year.

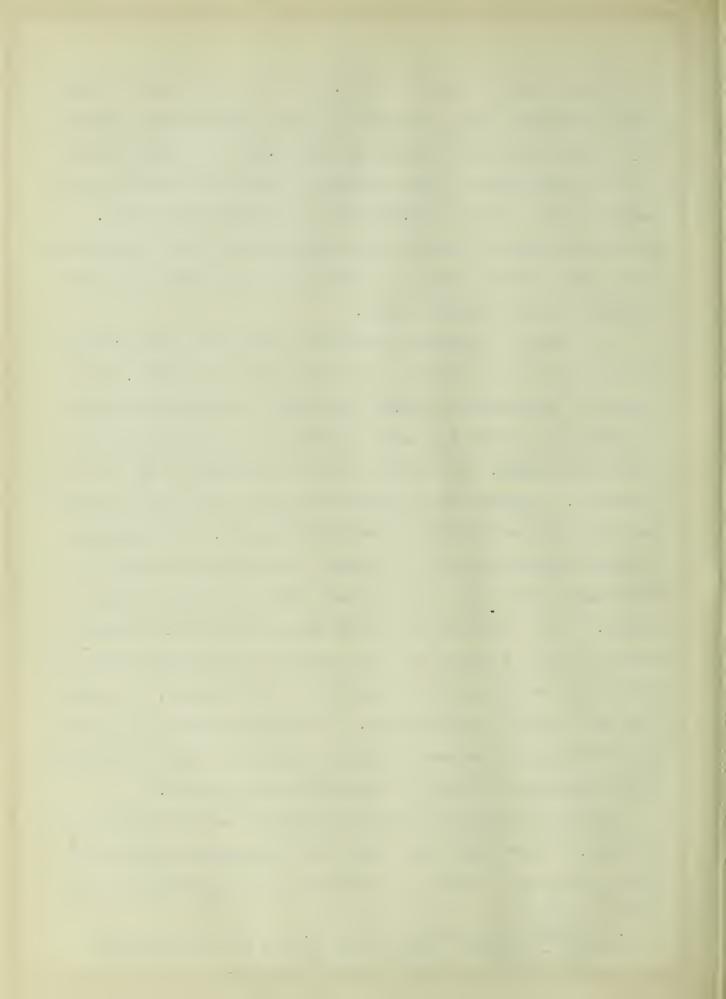
And still there are a million more immigrants coming every year, and we must believe from the history of the past that they will continue to flock to the cities.

All cases of attempted wholesale artificial distribution on the part of the Department of Immigration has failed. The Bureau of Information of the Department of Immigration tried the wholesale method and spent over \$1,000,000 and only placed 14,000 immigrants. The Bureau was then disbanded as it was too expensive. Governmental distribution would politically jeopardize the political administration at Washington. If it refused to direct immigration to one section of the country because it found wages were low it would arouse the hostility of the employer. If it directed them to another section of the country where the wages offered were high because the employers were preparing for lockouts, and the unions were on a strike, it would lose the vote of the workingmen. It is the concensus of opinion that the Federal government must not meddle with the distribution of the immigrant further than furnishing information. 2

We must stop and ask why the immigrants are not better distributed. Why we find over 75% of the foreigners in our large cities. The only answer can be because the large cities afford

^{1.} U.S. Immigration Report for 1907.

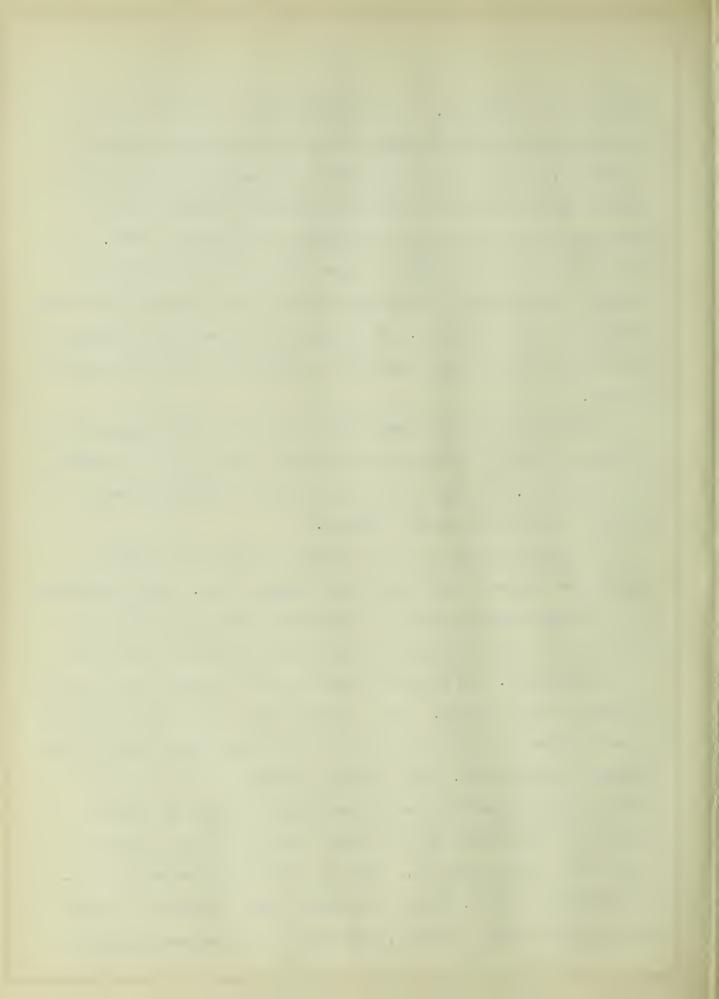
^{2.} John R. Commons, "Immigration during the 19th Century" (Chautaquan, December 1903, 38:333:40.)



work for the immigrant. The immigrant goes to the city for the same reason that the country boy and the native American goes there. Because the city contains the attractions of life, the greatest rewards for labor, the greatest opportunity for advancement, the greatest opportunity for unskilled labor. In reality the so called need for farm labor is based purely on a fiction furnished by a few demands for seasonal labor in the West during the harvest period. The Immigration Commission reported that there was no steady demand for unskilled labor in the South or West.

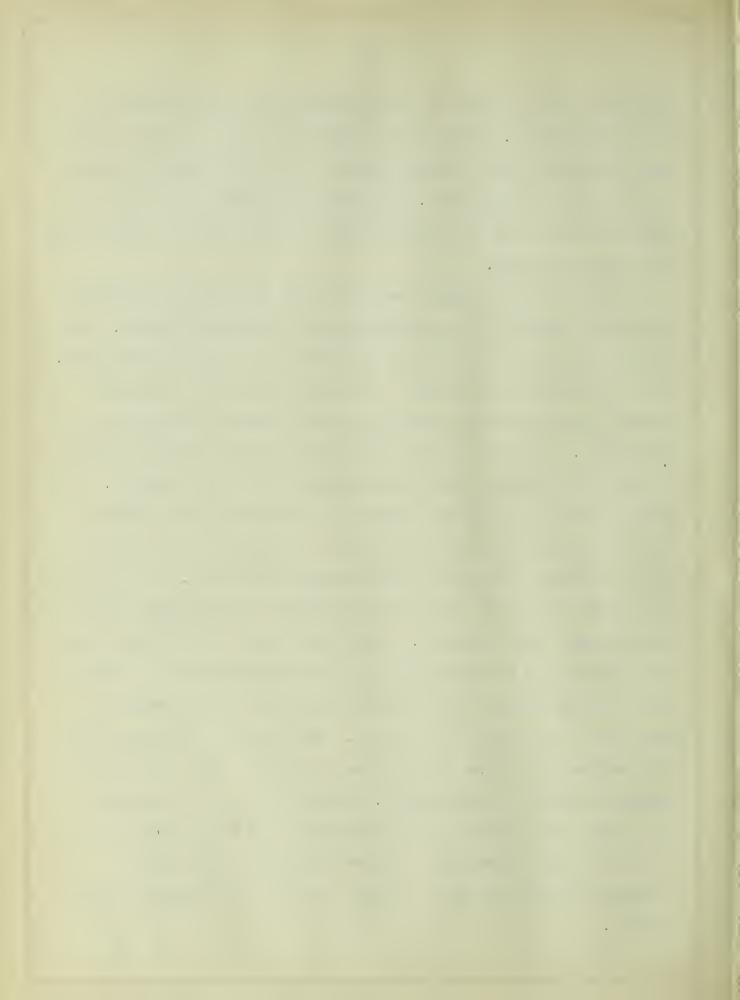
Artificial distribution would not relieve the pressure in the city as long as the present character and amount of immigration continues. It can only be relieved by creating greater economic inducements in the country.

A closer survey of the immigrant problem shows that a gradual and natural distribution is taking place. This distribution is being brought about by large scale industry which is the greatest assimilating and distributing factor in the life of the immigrant. We find that large scale industry and the immigrant go hand in hand. Why? Because the illiterate foreigner is best suited for that class of work which requires little forethought or initiative. The average foreigner is not fitted either by temperament or natural ability to become a farmer. Therefore of necessity he is forced into the cities where he finds large scale industry. This is clearly proven when we remember that of the 9,000,000 immigrants who entered the United States between 1899 and 1913, 70% went to the eastern manufactur-



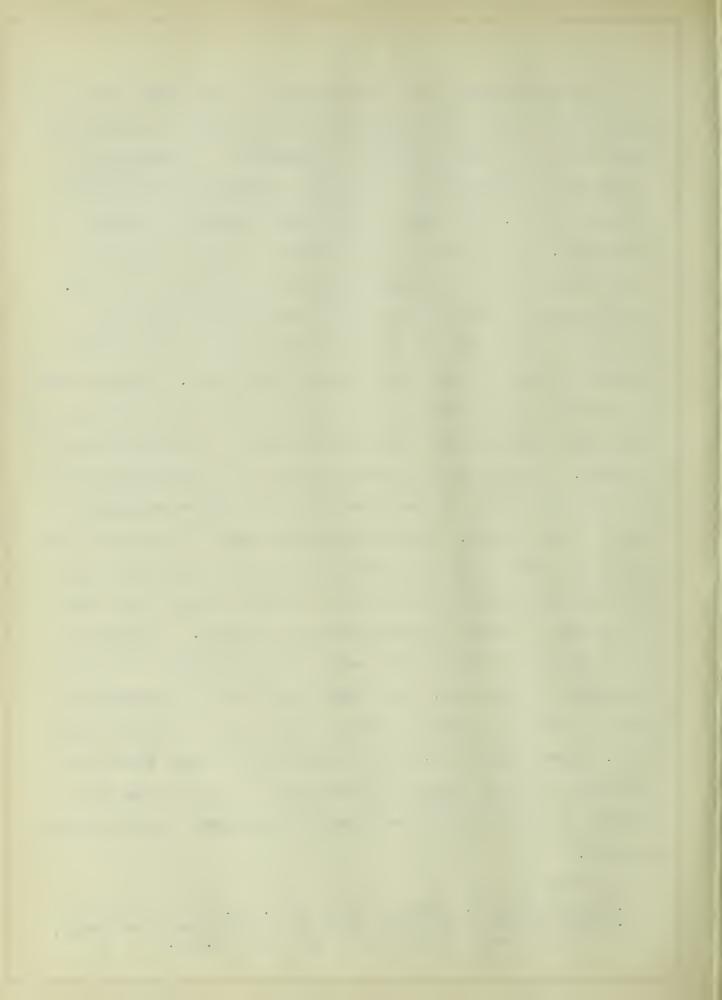
ing states and 12% went to the manufacturing central states of Ohio and Illinois. Large scale industries like the steel companies, railroads, meat packing companies, are the source of supply of labor for the immigrant. As these industries expand and are distributed we find the distribution of the immigrant accomplished in a natural manner.

Large scale industry, raised on the sand dunes of Indiana the City of Gary, and placed thousands of immigrants there. Go to the very deserts of Arizona, and there you find the immigrant. Why? Because on those plains at Tonopa large scale industry placed a million dollar corporation and attracted thousands of immigrants. Go where our railroads are winding their way across the American frontier and there you will find the immigrant. Examine the records of the workers on the Keokuk dam recently completed and you will find that more than 50% of the laborers were the recent immigrants from Southeastern Europe. In the 37 basic industries east of the Rocky Mountains we find that 60% of the laborers are foreigners. This means that the immi rants are found where they are needed; that their distribution is coming about through natural and sure means and not by governmental wholesale, artificial distribution. The natural distribution of the immigrants is more certain when we realize that large scale industry is only in its infancy. Further there is a tendency for large scale industries to break away from the larger cities and set up their plants as the Steel Companies have done in cities like Gary, Indiana, Joliet, Illinois, and Indiana Harbor Ind iana.



Notwithstanding this distribution, we still find that in the slums of our cities the immigrants have collected in indigestible lumps in their "little Italies" or "Hungaries." Segregation in the crowded quarters of our cities has dangerous political/and economic evils. The slums of our cities contain a majority of foreigners. Even in these slums, however, there is a tendency toward evolution to the better resident districts of the city. The Immigration Commission in 1910 reported that they could not find a single city block even in our largest cities solely inhabited by one of the older races of immigrants. Whereas formerly the Irish, the Germans and the Jews occupied our slum districts, their place has now been taken by the Italian, the Russian, and the Slav. If we read the history of our cities correctly there will be an evolution of these people to the better resident districts of our cities. The average person sees an Italian in one part of the city today and another Italian there tomorrow, and draws the hasty generalization that a certain part of the city is becoming a colony of unassimilated foreigners. As Richard Ely in his book on Immigration says, "Although the foreigners congregate in our slums, still they keep them from stagnating because there is a constant change in the races which enter our slums. Albert Shaw in his book on American Problems draws the conclusion that the present day immigrant is far less prone to stagnate in the slums than was the older immigrant or the native American. 2

^{1.} Ely, Richart T. "Immigration" 1910. pp.62-66
2. Shaw, Albert, "Political Problems of American Development, (The Columbia University Press, 1907, p.268.

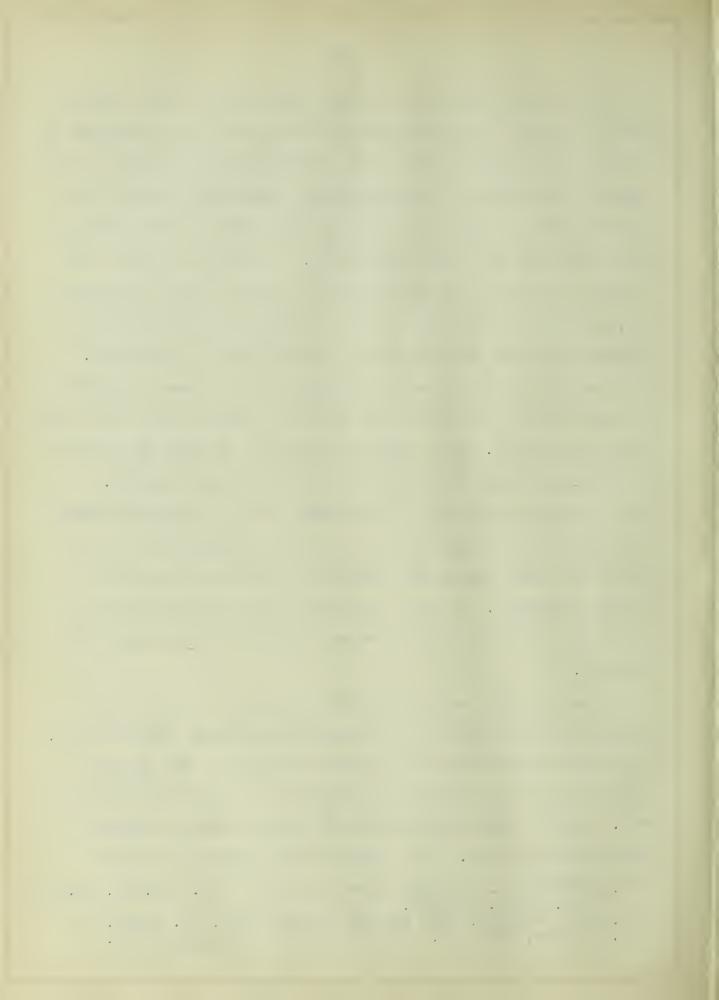


Notwithstanding the fact that the immigrants are crowded into our cities, the truth must be evident that the immigrant is being assimilated every day - he is becoming Americanized in race. language and custom. The Immigration Commission reported that even the racial conditions and characteristics of the immigrant pass away with the second generation. The Polish peasant, for instance, is noted for lawlessness and crime in his own country, yet, as Mr. Hourwich points out, in America a more law-abiding community can not be found than that inhabited by the Poles. 1 Italy we are told is a land of beggars; yet go down the streets of New York with Jacob Riis and you will find only 2% of the beggars are Italians, while 12% are Americans, and 15% are Irish.2 Here foreigners are becoming assimilated and Americanized. E. N. Steiner in his book "On the Trail of the Immigrant" tells of standing on the main street of Scranton, Pennsylvania where 80% of the young people who pass are of foreign birth or of foreign parentage. He says, "I have watched that stream for hours and I could only in a few cases faintly trace racial differences. 3

The two great assimilating factors in the life of the immigrant are our public school systems and labor organizations. The former reaches the child of the immigrant at the plastic period of life, and indirectly modifies the adult immigrant himself. School trains the children to American ways, language, industry and customs. This leads toward progress of higher

^{1.} Hourwich, I.A. "Immigration and Crime. Am. Jour. Soc. Jan. 1912. v. 17, p. 478-486.

^{2.} Riis, Jacob A. "The Italian in New York". p. 48-54. 3. Steiner, Edward N. "On the trail of the Immigrant".



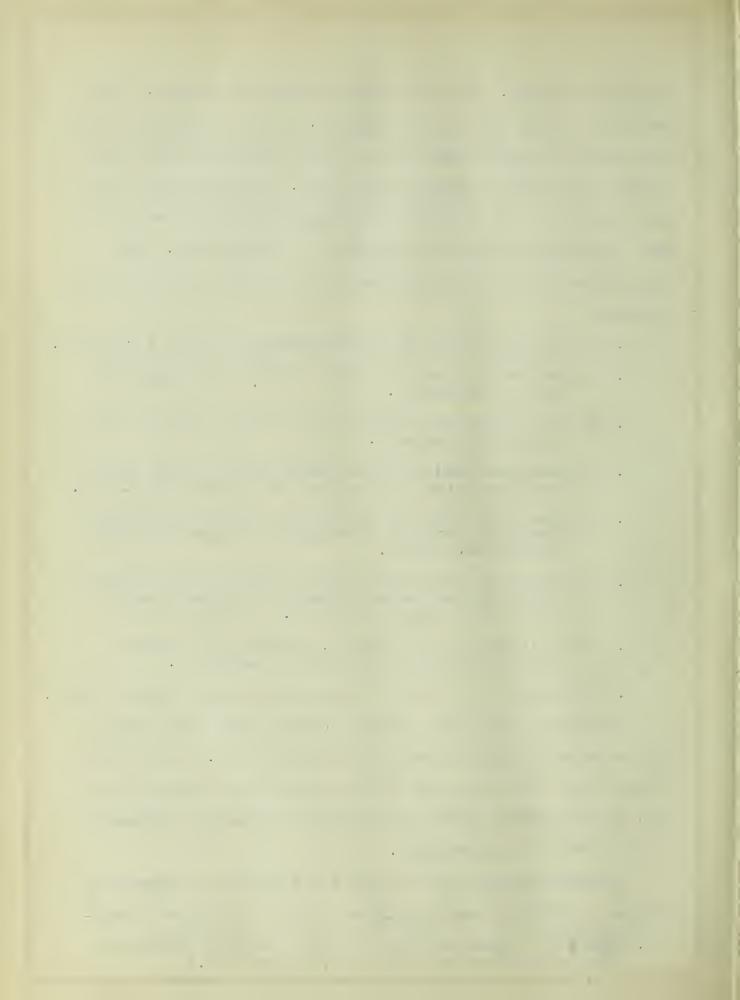
standard of living. The labor union touches the adults. The use of the "bread and butter" argument, "join the union and your wages will be raised" endeavors to create discontent with the low wages and the low standard of living. Americanization can only come to the low standard of living immigrant worker as his wages are increased and his standard of living raised. The trade unions exercise the Americanizing influence in the following ways:

- 1. The trade union teaches self-government to the illiterate.
- 2. The immigrant learns to remedy grievances through the use of the ballot.
- 3. The union gives the immigrant the sense of common cause and public interest.
- 4. Different nationalities are thrown into a common group, and soon adopt a common way of thinking and acting.
- 5. Foreigners are thrown into intimate contact with those who have partially or completely adopted American customs and ideals.
- 6. The unions in many cases require members to be citizens of the United States or to have declared their intention to become citizens.
- 7. It raises wages of immigrants, shortens the working days and improves the working conditions.
- 8. It reduces the feeling of antagonism arising between races. 1

The social settlement workers and the church are doing a great work in helping to assimilate the foreigner. As the head of the family coming in contact with the American ideals in his work, the settlement workers are bringing these same advantages into the home of the immigrant.

Notwithstanding the fact that the immigrant is apparently becoming distributed and assimilated, still the charge of unde-

^{1.} Huebener - "Americanization of the Immigrant (Annals of the American Academy, May 1906, 204 and 205.)

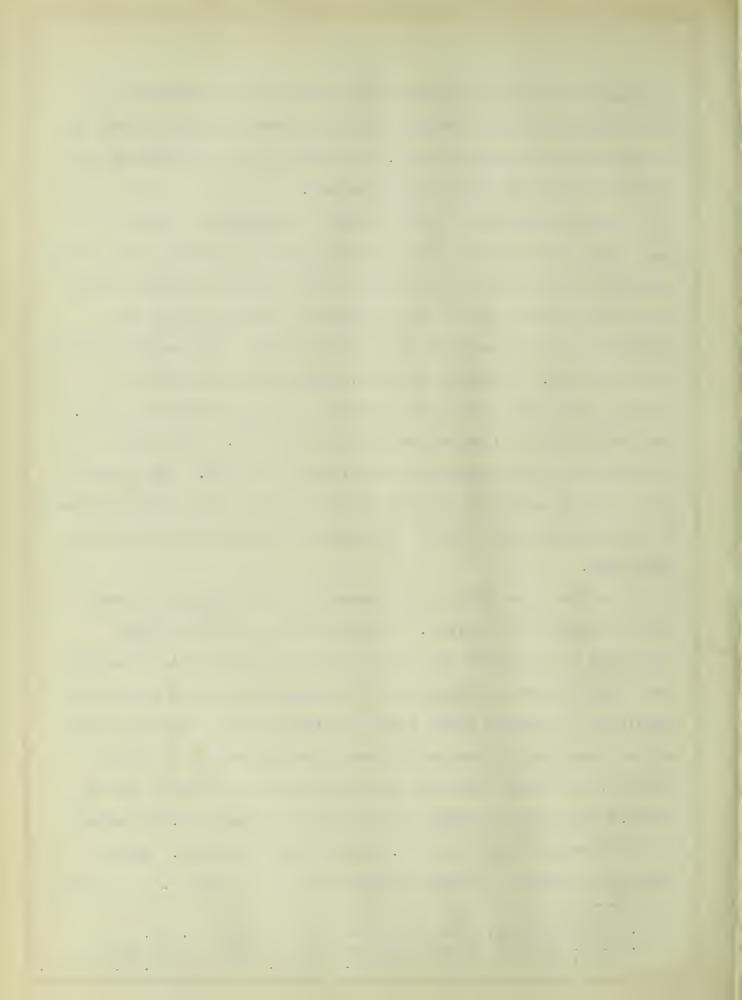


sirability is placed against him because he is considered to be a disproportionate cause of crime, poverty and pauperism, insanity and other allied evils. In short, his social record is said to be less desirable than our own.

Let us first look at his record in regard to crime. We are often led to believe that our immigrant is criminally inclined because of the numerous rumors and petty charges brought against him, mostly violation of city ordinance, offenses which the Commission of Immigration points out are due to the unfamiliarity with our laws. Offenses, however, which are classified as crimes, but which in the last analysis are not criminal at all. The Commission of Immigration on page 168, vol. 2 says that immigration has not increased the volume of crime. The Commission further says that judging from the meager statistics available the immigrants seem no more criminally inclined than the native Americans.

On the other hand, the opponents of the immigrant brand him as criminally inclined. Josiah Strong in his book"The Challange of the City" says that the study of the male prisoners from penitentiaries shows that the immigrants are 50% more lawless than the native white born of native parents, and that the native born sons of immigrants are twice as lawless as their fathers, and three times as lawless as native whites of native stock. Among the prisoners in the United States, 56.81% belong to the foreign element and 43.19% are native element. Among juvenile offenders the disproportion is still greater. 2 I.A. Hourwich

Josiah Strong, "The Challange of the City", p.140.
 W. S. Bennet, "Immigrants and Crime" (American Academy of Political & Social Scoemce. Amma; s. July 1909, v. 34, 117-124.

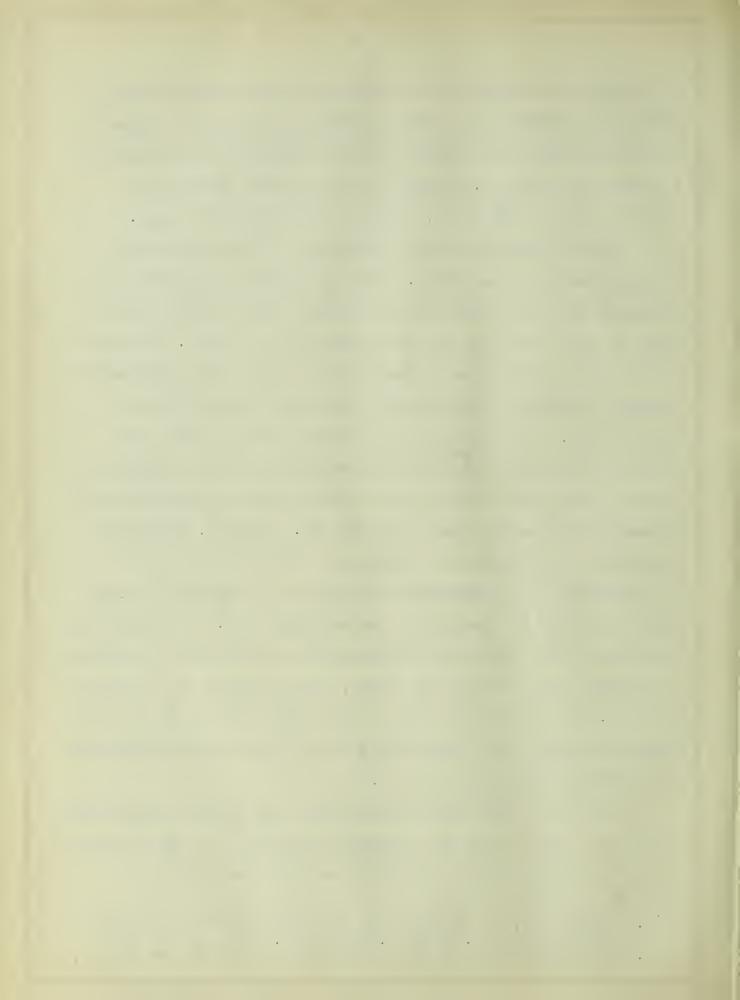


in the American Journal of Sociology, gave the report of the Immigration committee on Crime in which it drew up its final conclusions that the immigrant did not increase crime, but he did change the native. There has been a great increase in felonies such as abduction, homicide, kidnapping and rape. 1

The next question to be considered is that of the immigrants relative to pauperism. When we compare our present-day immigrant with the immigrants of earlier times, and the native born, we find that very few are burdens upon society. The XIII Census reports that even in the times of panics the Southeastern European immigrant furnishes less than their proportion of homeless men. Jacob Riis in his book on "How the other half Lives," points out that these nationalities, that are burdens to society, the Irish head the list with 15%, native Americans 12% Germans 8% and the Italians have but 3%. Henry M. Fairchild in his book on immigration regulation, records the result of his investigation of pauperism in 35 cities throughout the ten states in which the immigrants are chiefly found. This investigation shows that of the nationalities most conductive to pauperism, the Germans rank first in 18 cities, and the Irish are ahead in 9 cities. The Polish are ahead in but four states, and the Italians do not lead in a single city, and of our present immigration the Southern Europe composed 70%.2

Yet on the other hand Prescott Hall and Josiah Strong would lead us to believe that the tendency to pauperism in the country is nearly three times as strong in the immigrant than in the

Hourwich, I.A., "Immigration and Crime"(American Journal of Sociology, Jan. 1912, v.17:478-496.
 Fairchild, H.P., "Recent Immigration in the United States."



native. Prescott Hall publishes an estimate that it takes \$12,000,000 to care for the foreign born poor in New York alone. 2

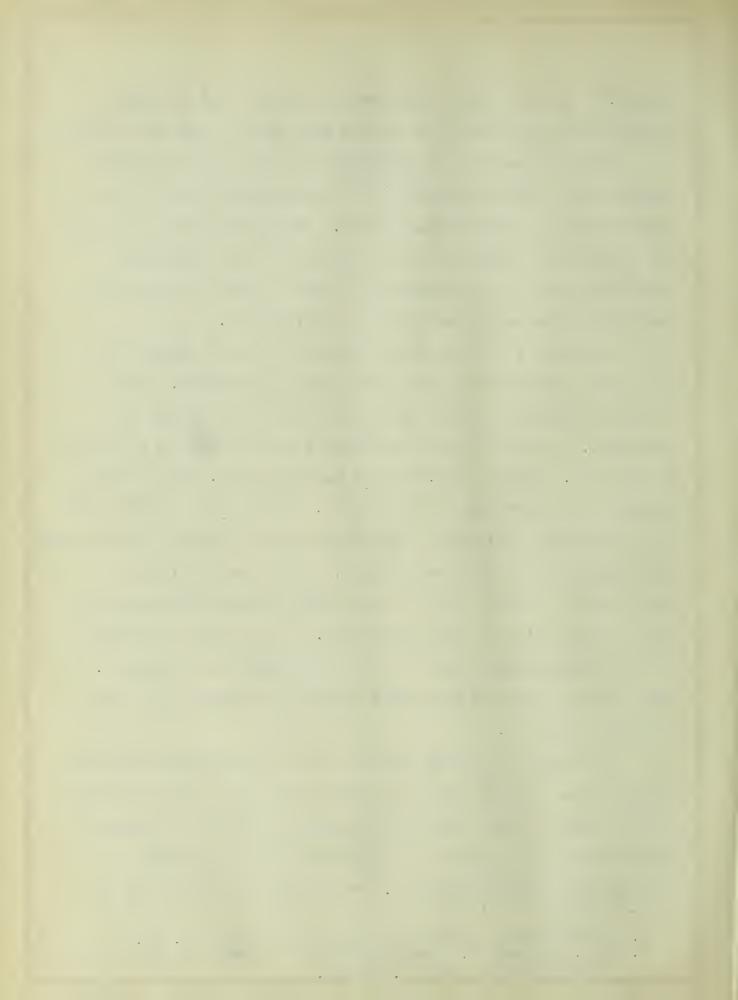
Upon the question of pauperism and crime the authority seems nearly equally divided as to the immigrant being a disproportionately contributing factor. Statistics are very meager and difficult to obtain for the reason that only within the last few years have municipalities begun to keep accurate record of the poor relief work which is carried on.

In regard to the political welfare of the country, the immigrant in whatever light we view him is a problem. The illiterate immigrant especially is an undesirable citizen in a democracy. A large alien class under the iron rule of a monarchy is possible. Under a democracy it is impossible. The United States must pursue one of two methods. Either put a severe test to the incoming immigrant at the gates of our country, or else make the naturalization laws more strict. If the naturalization laws are lax, we will find a large class holding franchises who are totally unfit for self government. If the laws are severe we will find a large class of aliens not given the franchise. A large class of non-voting people always is dangerous and leads to dissatisfaction.

The immigrant places a strain upon the democratic institutions, because in the first place many immigrants have developed under a paternalistic form of government and are not prepared to readily adopt and conserve the constitution and governing ideas of the English speaking people. The immigrants become the tool

United States (1908, p. 369-74).

^{1.} Strong, Josiah, "The Challange of the City", p. 66. 2. Hall, Prescott F. "Immigration and Its Effects on the

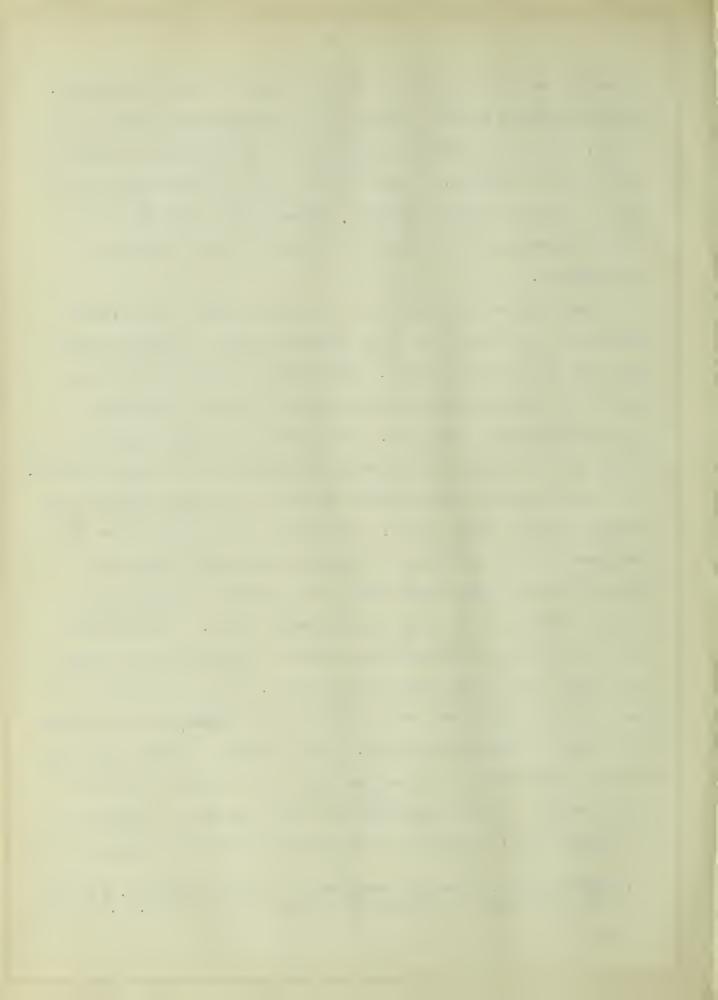


of the bosses who in turn are the cat's paw of some plutocracy. These foreigners huddle together in an indigestible lump in our cities. This is a fertile field for the cultivation of corrupt practices in politics. Some political boss, possessing a knowledge of foreign ways and foreign language will lead this horde of voters practically to a man, to vote for some candidate or some measure.

Lawlessness in politics is noticeable among the foreign population. Election day in an immigrant city is always accompanied by rioting and strife. The municipal election in Gary, Indiana in 1909 necessitated the calling forth of the state militia to prevent bloodshed. The political bosses attempted to use force to coerce the foreign population into voting "right".

Intelligent, conscientious voting is an impossibility with a large foreign voting class. In New York the inability of the foreigner to vote anything but the straight party ballot is shown by the fact that each party has an emblem on the ballot for the benefit of the uneducated foreign class. Illinois has found it practically impossible to pass a constitutional amendment where intelligent voting is required. The introduction of home rule for cities has been delayed by the presence in our cities of large foreign population. Such matters as those connected with the enforcement of laws, and with the prohibition of the liquor traffic are the subjects of fierce controversy because of the diverse moral standard of the people of different nationalities

^{1.} Abbott, Grace. "The Immigrant and Municipal Politics. (In National Municipal League Proceedings, 1909, Phila., p.148-156.



and racial experiences living within a given city or state.

Economic reforms in cities are often delayed because the question of law enforcement can be utilized to divert attention from the vital economic question affecting the welfare of the great major-of the population.

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The question of the immigrant in our own republic becomes more threatening when we consider the wave of popular government which is sweeping over the length and breath of the land. the illiterate immigrant can not vote, but nevertheless, there are thousands of these foreigners who know simply enough English to pass the naturalization test, but who are far from capable of voting intelligently. Take for instance the proposition of a semi-illiterate foreigner voting in the state of New York where the ballot resembles the size of a small bed quilt and is known as the blanket ballot. Or, again, in the state of Oregon where in 1900, thirty-two laws were submitted under the Initiative and Referendum covering 202 pages. The election covered the entire field of legislation. 2 Take the election in South Dakota in the same year. Thirteen laws were proposed. The ballot altho printed in small type was over five and one-half feet long, containing over 12,000 words. 2 Is conscientious, intelligent voting possible under such conditions, by a class of people who barely know enough English to pass the naturalization test ?

Carlton, "History & Problems of Organized Labor", p.371.
 Bennet, W.S. "The Effect of Immigration on Municipal Politics (National Municipal League, Proceedings, 1909, Phila. p.142-147.)



CHAPTER VI

Restriction and Legislation Against the Immigrant

The history of the restriction of immigration can be divided into two classes, quality restriction and quantity restriction.

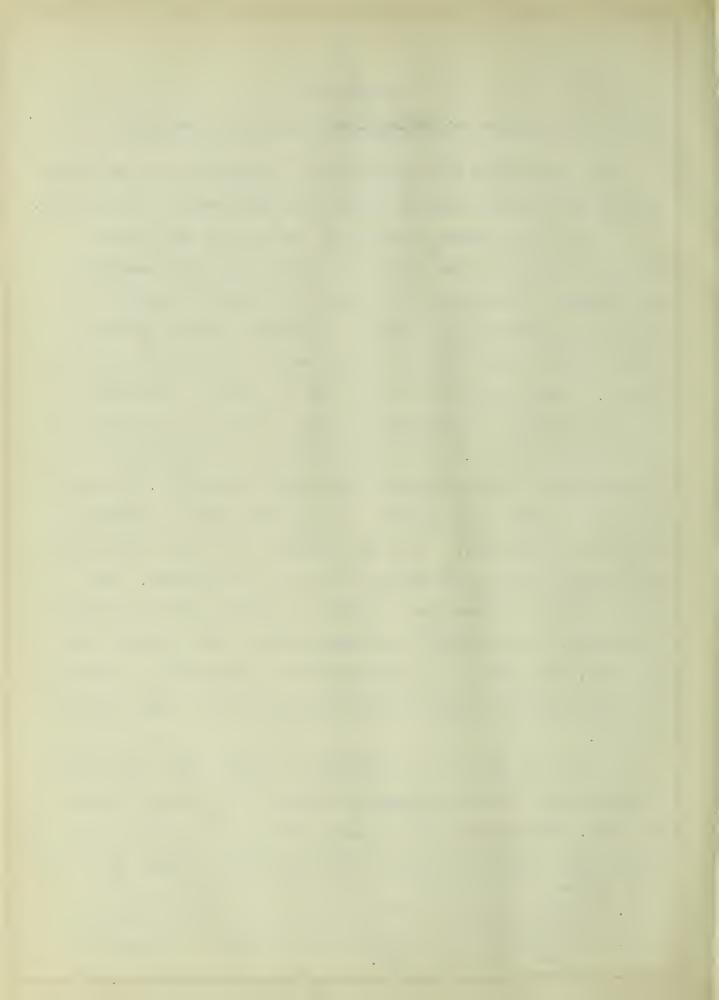
The first general immigration law was not passed until 1882. Previous to the Civil War several acts were passed for the purpose of insuring to the immigrants decent treatment and safety while crossing the ocean. 2 Acts were passed in 1862, 1869. 1873 and 1875 dealing with the coolie immigration from the orient. With one exception until 1882 the Federal government left the control of immigration almost entirely in the hands of the sea board states. This exception was the temporary act of 1864 passed as a war measure to encourage immigration. The general law of 1882 marks the first step toward general federal control over immigrants. This act provided for a head tax of 50c. and excluded certain undesirable classes of immigrants. law, however, provided for co-operation between atate and federal government. Other general acts werepassed in 1891, 1893, 1903 and 1907. The office of superintendent of immigration, now known as Commissioner General of Immigration was created under the act of 1891.

Under the pressure of the Knights of Labor and other labor organizations, Congress passed the contract labor laws in 1885 and 1888. These acts aimed to prevent the importation of unskilled labor under contract to work for American firms. Since then they

^{1.} Guenther, Richard. "United States Legislation Respecting Immigration."

^{2.} U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Bureau. "Immigration Laws", March 10, 1913.

Carlton "History and Problems of Greanized Labor, pp. 340



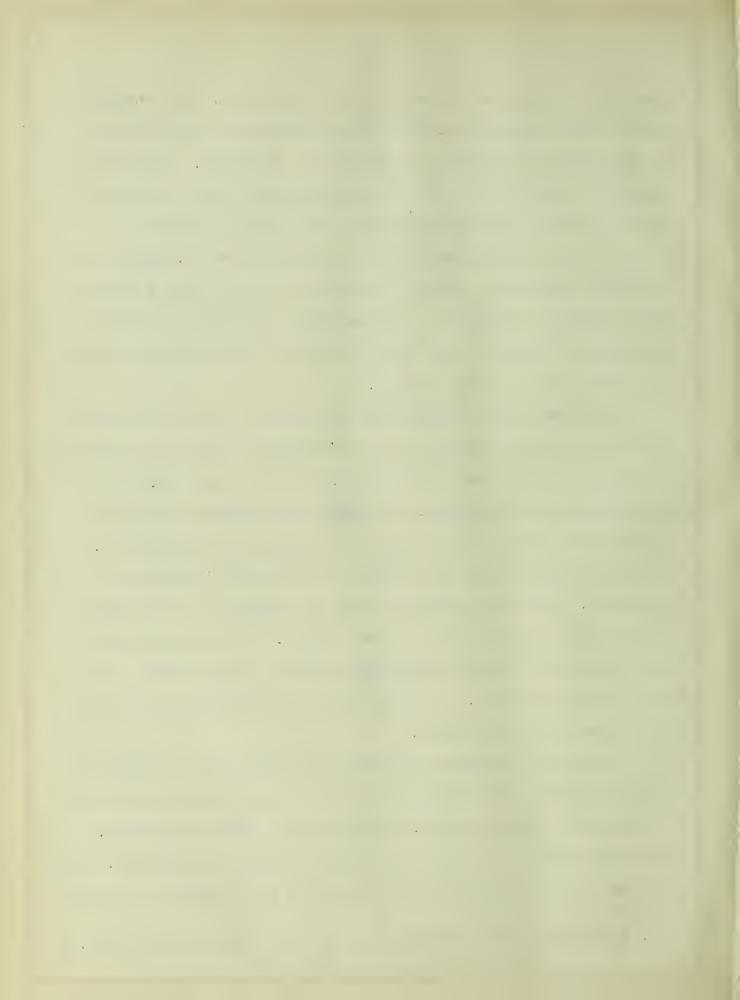
have been strengthened by subsequent legislation. The purpose of the recent immigration acts is the exclusion of all aliens who are mentally, morally, or physically deficient. Under the Immigration Acts of 1907 the following classes were excluded, convicts, persons possessing mental and physical deformities or afflicted with contageous diseases, suspected of immigration for immoral purposes, beggars, paupers or those liable to become public charges, anarchists, polygamists, prostitutes, contract laborers, and children under sixteen years of age not accompanied by at least one of their parents. 1

To enforce these regulations provision is made for careful inspection of all immigrants, and for detention of those suspected of belonging to the excluded classes. A head tax of \$4.00 is exacted from each immigrant. The money thus raised is used in assisting the defraying of expenses of regulating immigration. Steamship companies are held liable for illegally bringing in immigrants. Rejected immigrants must be returned at the expense of the company bringing them to our shores. The Federal authorities may deport any alien becoming a public charge within three years of date of entry. Encouragement or solicitation by steamship companies is prohibited.

The Federal government controls the admission or rejection of the immigrant; but after he is here the responsibility for his fair treatment, welfare, etc. rests upon the state government.

The great problem, however, lies with the Federal Government. Cognizant of the vast scope and importance of this problem a congress-

^{1.} Immigration Laws & Regulations of July 1,1907(Page 12,Art.2)



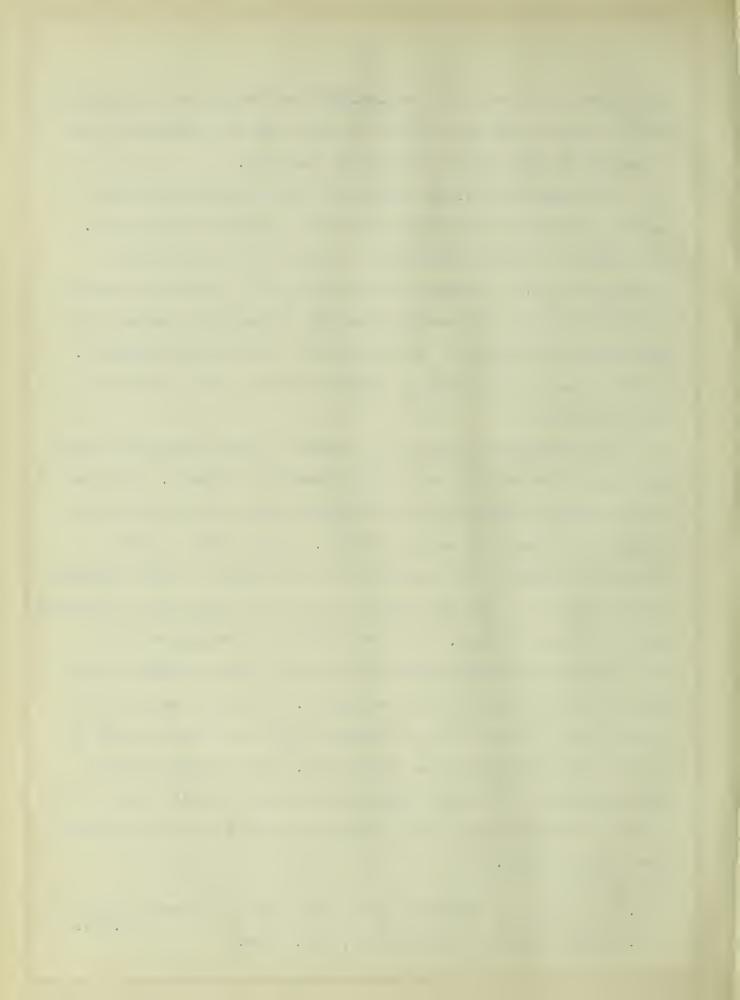
ional committee, known as the Immigration Commission was appointed in 1907, which spent \$7,000,000 in money and four years of time in making an exhaustive study of the question.

This committee after exhaustive study recommended that immigration should be restricted both in quantity and quality. The literacy test was recommended as the most desirable test as proposed by this committee this test shall consist of reading or writing twenty-five words either in the American language or some European language to be selected by the immigrant himself. In other words, this committee said illiteracy was a badge of undesirability.

This recommendation at once reised a great storm of protest from foreigners who are now wealthy American citizens. Prominent social workers emphatically declared that there was no relation between illiteracy and undesirability. Grace Abbot in the Survey for January, 1911, said, "It is difficult to find anything to recommend it as the best means or even as a good means of selecting our future citizens. What we desire is a character test, and the ability to read and write has never been regarded as the means of determining honesty and thrift. It is not even a test of ambition. There is no deficiency that we are better able to handle in the immigrant than illiteracy. Jane Addams of Hull House fame says, "the most undesirable immigrants with whom we have to deal is the immigrant with a little learning who thinks himself above menial labor."2

^{1.} Abbot, Grace, "Adjustment not Restriction", Survey, Jan. 7,1911 p. 528.

^{2.} Addams, Jane, "Social Survey, Jan. 1914."

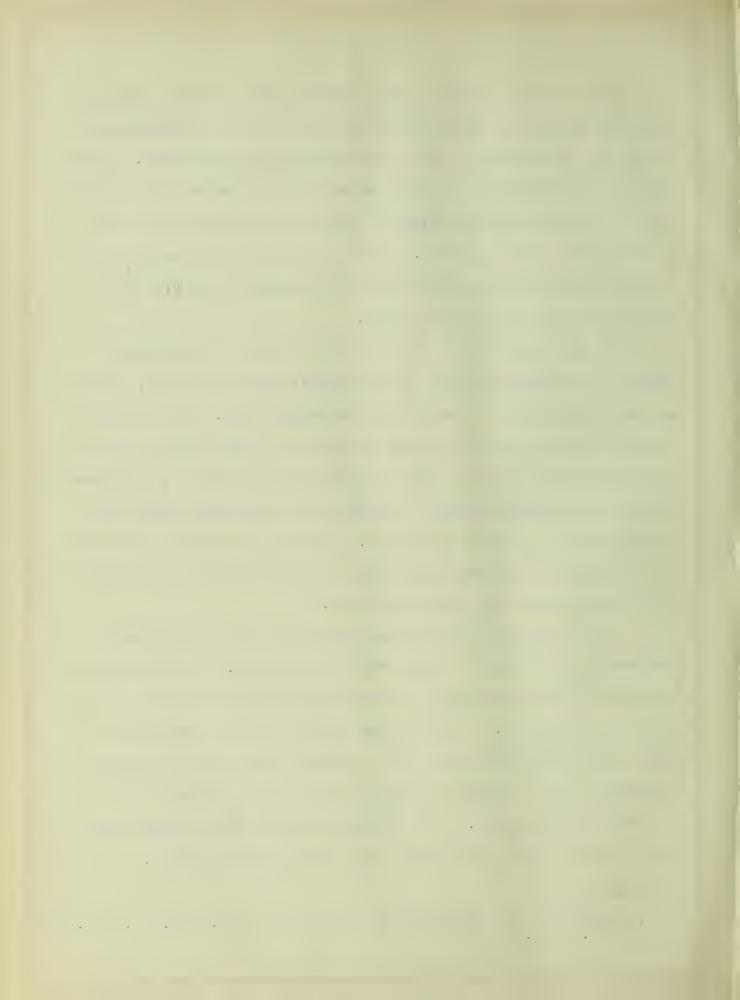


The educated Italian from the cities is far more dangerous than his uneducated brother from the country, for the European cities are the hotbed of vice, corruption and debauchery. Illiteracy in the European is not a prima facia evidence of undesirability, it is merely a criterion of the educational system in the country from which he comes. Many of our prominent and wealthy citizens such as Montgomery Ward, and Roebuck were illiterate when they came to American shores.

The opponents of the literacy test state further that there is no direct relation between illiteracy and crime, illiteracy and pauperism, illiteracy and undesirability. The criminal records for New York City, show that of the 4,023 crimes committed against the person, less than 8% were committed by illiterates, while of the crimes against property the illiterates were the offenders in only 5% of the cases. Senator Dillingham, chairman of the Immigration Commission, Lays that the literacy test will in no wise lessen the amount of crime.

The accusation is often made that in thisera of popular democratic government the immigrant is a meance. As one writer has put it, "A monarchy can tolerate the illiterate, but he has no place in a republic." This danger is not as threatening as a first blush would indicate, for a certain reading and writing knowledge of the American language is necessary before an alien can become naturalized. Only a few western states allow aliens to vote before they have taken out naturalization papers. But

^{1.} Hourwich, I.A. "Immigration and Crime", (Am. Jour. Soc. Jan. 1912, v.17, p.478-490)

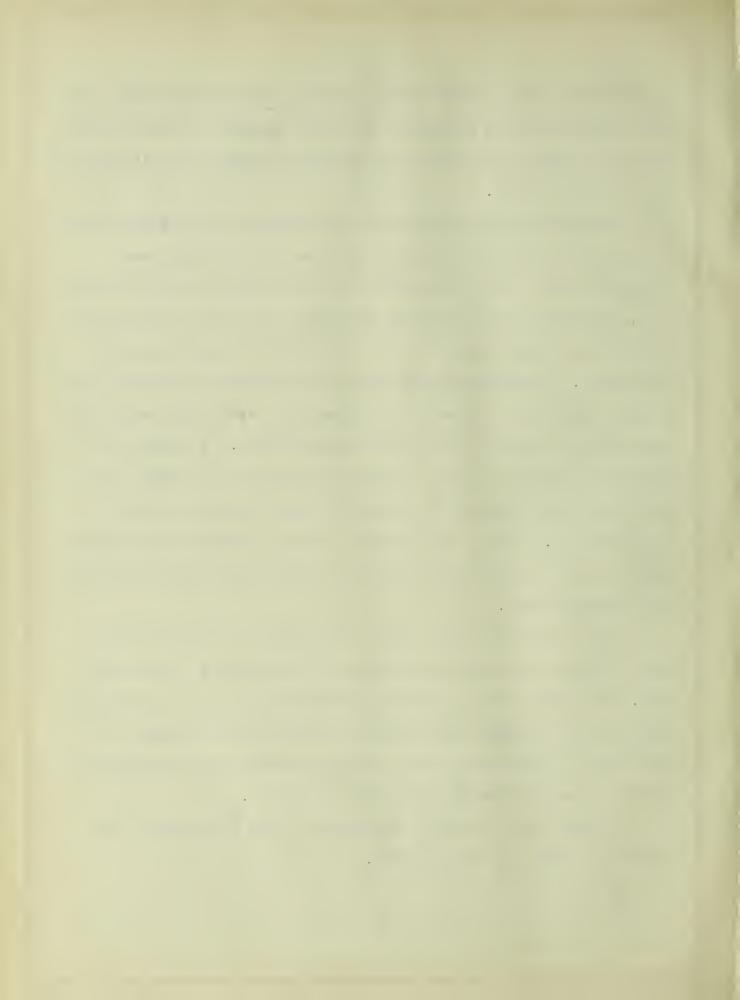


on the other hand we must remember that a large non-voting class is dangerous in any political body, "for taxation without representation" since the days of our colonial fathers, has always led to political unrest.

Acting on the report and recommendation of the Immigration Commission, Senator Dillingham introduced into the present Congress a bill for the restriction or immigration by a literacy test. This bill has successfully passed the House of Representatives by a large majority and is at present being debated in the Senate. President Wilson both in his campaign speeches and present speeches threatens to veto any bill which will restrict the supply of laborers for American industries. In one of his campaign speeches he said, "I would consider with disfavor any bill which would reduce the supply or labor coming into the United States." Thus the chances of future restriction of immigration by a literacy test seems to be hopeless during the present administration.

This attitude on the part of the nation's executive is partially due to personal opinion and is partially a political move. To arouse the opposition of any large class of foreigners would be sounding the death knell for any political party. So the merits or demerits of the proposed restriction of immigration can not be determined by its political career.

We must draw our final conclusions from an economic and historical study of the question.



CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

The immigration question, in its final analysis, as viewed from a historical and economic view point, narrows itself down to the following issues: Will the restriction of immigration be a restriction in quality or in quantity? The concensus of opinion is that American industry needs the immigrant, for he does our menial, unskilled labor. Likewise, laying aside prejudice. we can say that the immigrant, especially the illiterate immigrant is neither the cause of all our social evils, nor on the other hand is he a noncausal element. He is a contributing factor, and as such the illiterate immigrant adds to our already overheavy burden of social and political unrest. Perhaps no causal relation can be traced between illiteracy and the social evils, but the indisputable fact remains that he adds at least his proportionate quota and as such is undesirable. Further than this the illiterate is underirable for his education and assimilation is practically impossible. Information concerning government, social ideas, and the very economic existence, is today disseminated thru the newspaper, magazine and other forms of printed address. The foreigners, who can not read, even in their native language, are isolated from all knowledge of American life and ideals as if they were stranded on a desert island. Their assimilation is thus made practically impossible, and they become a menace to American ideals and civilization.

Thus the question narrows down to this: American industry needs the immigrant. The illiterate is undesirable. Therefore



can any test be provided which will keep out the illiterate and still not rob American Industry of the needed supply of labor?

If we read the history of immigration legislation correctly we must arrive at the conclusion that the immigration is limited by supply and demand. As American industry has needed labor, Europe has always furnished it. The supply has increased with each succeeding year, notwithstanding the fact that restrictive measure after restrictive measure has been passed. The only restriction that has resulted has been a restriction in quality not a restriction in quantity. The proposed restriction by a literacy test appears to be just one step further toward supplying American industry with a higher class of immigrants. Past legislation has kept from our shores the undesirable classes of imbeciles, idiots, criminals, paupers, epileptics, and diseased and still the supply of immigrants has increased.

In view of these facts we must remember that no matter what tests are adopted, the immigrant will continue to come to us by hundreds of thousands every year, so discussion pro and con is quite futile. The real national problem to which we should devote our money and our energy and our intelligence is how the industrial, social and political adjustment of the immigrant may be accomplished with the least possible loss to himself and the community.

Immigration must be restricted in quality not in quantity.

The literacy test therefore as proposed by the Immigration Commission is a desirable measure. It will keep from our shores those undesirable illiterates and at the same time will not rob American industry of the needed immigrant labor.





